

The Nation.

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The Week.

THE opening of the new year is justly regarded by enterprising publishers and editors as an important epoch both from a moral and pecuniary point of view. It is the period when an account of the profits and losses of the twelvemonth is taken, and when, with the expenditure of much intellectual labor, the judicial retrospect of the past editorial course of the paper, coupled with its programme and unwavering fidelity to the cause of truth and of right for the ensuing year, is prepared, and when there also appears the annual list of Webster's Unabridged Dictionaries and other premiums to stimulate the good work of subscription. It is not only with his own future that the journalist busies himself at the opening of the new year, but with that of his readers as well, and it is seldom that he omits on New Year's day the publication of a few appropriate remarks suggested by the recurrence of the day. It is creditable to human nature (to say nothing of the profession of journalism) that these New-Year reflections should invariably have a moral tendency. No cynicism or levity is tolerated, and we notice that the *World*, which has developed of recent years a marked tendency toward a flippancy treatment of subjects always treated seriously by its contemporaries, pays at least a silent tribute to the cause of morals by refraining from making any studied reflections upon the new year. The other papers devoted on the first of the month a considerable amount of space to the subject, and we are glad to see that on the whole they take a bright view of the future. The *Herald* thinks that we are "at the beginning of a better era," and even sees hope for the holders of "stagnant real estate." The *Times* discusses the subject in beautiful language, and though admitting that "it needs all the warmth of "feeling that we can get from anniversaries like that of to-day to sustain us in the belief that selfishness and cruelty and greed are not after all the strongest impulses in human nature, and the most powerful forces in moulding the future of manhood," still expresses the opinion that "it is only those who have ceased to regard the past with tenderness or the future with hope (obviously a small class) that the salutation of the day will be regarded as impertinent or meaningless," and that no matter what illusions the stern teaching of experience robs us of, "it is long before it can strip from the future the possibility of having something in store for us which we have missed in the past." The *Tribune* is apparently not only satisfied with the prospect for 1879, but extracts more satisfaction than we fear most persons will be able to share from a retrospect of 1878. "No poet," the *Tribune* justly remarks, "has painted purgatory as a place of rejoicing," and "penalty, expiation, purification by fire and by suffering, have made 1878 the purgatorial year, especially to the Anglo-Saxon nations, whose pride is to assume the responsibility of leadership in the world's civilization." Nevertheless this glorious race has, according to the *Tribune*, come up to the mark and met the trials to which it has been subjected "in a manner worthy of itself." It finds resumption a hopeful sign, as also the Republican victory in the fall elections, and particularly dwells upon the exposure of an "attempt by bribery to deprive a free people of self-government," though it does not say by whom the exposure was made or who attempted such a dastardly act.

The most important financial event of the week was the beginning of specie payments by the United States Treasury on the morning of the 2d inst. There was no rush of holders of legal-tender notes for gold payment, nor did public interest in the event rise to the point of excitement. Whatever shock there was to be should have been on the first day, and on that day the Treasury paid out

for legal-tender notes \$130,000 gold, and took in \$400,000 gold in exchange for legal-tender notes. Since then the receipts of gold for legal-tender notes have been from four to five times larger than the payments of gold for the notes, which shows that when every one knows that the notes are the equivalent of gold the former are preferred for convenience. As soon as the Treasury had demonstrated its ability and willingness to pay its demand-debts, which is what the legal-tender notes are, a renewed demand for its time-debts, or bonds, was developed, and during the first week of resumption something over \$35,000,000 of 4 per cents. were subscribed for. Already \$30,000,000 of the 6 per cent. bonds have been called in for redemption on account of the sales of 4 per cents., and at the close of the week there is no abatement in the activity of refunding. To the banks is due the credit for a good part of the subscriptions, and they are moved by the tempting profits to their interest accounts. The January interest and dividend payments this year are not far from \$60,000,000. A part of this is going into United States bonds, but a larger share than usual is going into securities which in no event can be paid with silver dollars. An illustration of this is furnished by the sale of \$1,600,000 gold bonds of one of the city Elevated Railroads in less than two hours, and before the bonds had been publicly offered through the advertising columns of the newspapers. For the first week in seventeen years there was no gold market, and the Gold Room was given up to transactions in United States bonds. The money market was easy throughout the week. In London there was a decline in the discount rate; nevertheless, sterling bills here advanced to \$4 88 for demand and \$4 83½ for sixty days, because the cold weather and the snow blockade had interfered with the export movement. Silver remains at 49½d. to 49¾d. per oz. in London. Here the bullion value of the 412½-grain dollar is \$0.8391.

There ought to be a certain modesty and reserve in the rejoicings of some persons over the ease with which the resumption of specie payments has taken place. The Cincinnati *Commercial* and the Cincinnati *Gazette*, for instance, broke down utterly in their support of resumption in the summer of 1877 at a most critical period, and began clamoring for a "modification" of the Act (which would undoubtedly have operated as an indefinite postponement) by adopting the Democratic plan of not saying when we were going to resume, but preparing for it, as the St. Louis platform said, "by a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance." Of course nobody knew what this talk meant, but the two papers we have mentioned, and the Chicago *Tribune*, next to the *Commercial* the great silver prophet of the Western country, pretended they knew, and began throwing cold water on the prospect of resuming in 1879. The editor of the *Gazette*, indeed, delivered an address to the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce showing that the Act could not and ought not to be executed. It strikes us, therefore, as unbecoming in this gentleman (who in this instance cannot be allowed the benefit of the "wicked-partner" defence) to point out now in his paper, after explaining the support which irredeemable paper gave to the various forms of money mania, that "the arrival of resumption without a jar and the revival of confidence which this will effect, and the beneficial effect of this on industry and commerce, will take away the occupation of all these shallow inventors."

Mr. Thurman has replied to the request of the Teller Committee that he would furnish them with specifications as to the "outrages" which he wishes to be investigated; and it turns out that he, like Mr. Blaine, knows nothing about the matter except what he has seen in the newspapers; but he is more ingenuous than Mr. Blaine, for he frankly confesses the fact. So he declares that he will send in from time to time any indications which come to his knowledge.

"Instalment No. 1," as he calls it, consists of an editorial article cut from the *Washington Post*; a copy of a petition of sixty odd citizens of New York; a copy of an opinion of Judge Freedman touching the rights of naturalized citizens in New York; a speech of Senator Wallace; a letter of the Hon. William D. Kelley; an editorial article from the *Vermont Argus and Patriot*; a copy of the President's civil-service order, and one of the circulars sent out previous to the last election by Mr. Geo. C. Gorham, the Secretary of the Republican Committee, to Government employees and contractors. We suspect that this last "specification" is the only one that will open up a profitable line of enquiry. The Committee has begun taking testimony at New Orleans.

"A Young Men's Progressive Association" has been formed by the leading colored men of Louisiana for the protection of the Freedmen in the exercise of the franchise, which is a very good move. But we are sorry to see that they have begun operations by the publication of a highly rhetorical address on "outrages," the language of which, like that of most documents of this kind, is so extravagant as to defeat its object. It gives a list of numerous murders in a highly poetic vein—alleging that in certain parishes "victims of local self-government were left hanging by scores to the trees," and in others the bodies of the murdered persons were left "to feed the vultures and prowling beasts of the forest." As a general rule hitherto, when murders at the South have been described in this way, the murdered persons have subsequently been found, like the Methodist minister in South Carolina last year, sitting by their own firesides in happy ignorance of their fate. Is it not possible for the colored voters at the South to get up a sober-minded and sober-tongued organization of some kind which can tell a quiet and circumstantial tale without passion or vituperation about their political doings and sufferings? Stuff like the address of the Louisiana association, though received with a certain mock reverence in the Stalwart newspaper offices, makes no impression on public opinion.

General Sheridan in his last annual report gave a sorry account of "the Indian situation" on the frontier. The Indian Department, he said, owing either to "insufficient appropriations or wretched mismanagement," had given "the settlements in the Western country constant anxiety during the past year," besides causing murders and loss of property. There had been "an insufficiency of food at the agencies," which made the Indians desperate, except in the case of the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail bands of Sioux, who had been so well supplied and "humored" that their "increasing insolence constantly threatened to bring about a breach of the peace." These statements Secretary Schurz, we think with perfect accuracy, described, in a letter to General Sherman, as "sweeping charges against all the agencies in the military division of the Missouri, except the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Sioux agencies," and asked for the facts on which General Sheridan based them; but he asked it in terms which clearly enough indicated his belief that they would not be forthcoming.

This irritated General Sheridan, who now makes a "supplemental report" in reply, in which he says "he made no charges against the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, and made no charges against any one," and that "his object was to show" that Indian wars resulted "from the bad management in Indian affairs," and that the Secretary of the Interior was "disingenuous" in saying that he had made charges "as to corruptions at every agency in the limits of this military division." General Sheridan is a good soldier but evidently a very poor dialectician, or he would see that he did make against every agency in his division but two the charge of starving the Indians, in as plain language as a writer not used to the pen could be expected to make it. What evidently deceives him as to the nature of his language is that he did not intend his statements to be regarded as formal accusations against anybody, but as in-

formation for his superior officer; and what he meant by saying that the Secretary has been "disingenuous" in calling on him for proof, is that he (the Secretary) is taking an unwarrantable liberty in trying to convert him into a prosecutor. He then goes on, though in a somewhat rambling way and with very unseemly violence of language, to call attention to the reports of fraud and mismanagement from army officers at half a dozen agencies, fortified with extracts from reports to the Board of Indian Commissioners, but fails to say when these abuses occurred, or whether it was not, as we believe it was, before Secretary Schurz's day. He also charges, and with considerable force, that the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Indians were removed from the Missouri River under the influence of traders and contractors, who desired more business in hauling and selling supplies from the Union Pacific Railroad, which is now the base instead of the river. He annexes a report from Lieutenant Lee, of the Ninth Infantry, with regard to fraud and mismanagement at the Spotted Tail Agency, of which it is useless to give the details; it is the same old story.

The evil in the Indian service is the one which afflicts all departments of the public service, though more easily combated by supervision in some places than others—the small attraction of the public service for the requisite grade of men, and the small provision made by the conditions of the service for the promotion of honesty, and for fortification against temptation. Secretary Schurz is simply wrestling with the problem with which all the other Secretaries are wrestling, but under vastly greater disadvantages, because he has to use at remote points on the plains, out of reach of public observation, to carry on business with savages, persons who could only be kept to their duty by a rigid oversight in Washington or New York. General Grant's plan of handing the job of taking care of the Indians over to the religious denominations was simply a confession that the Government was unable to discharge one of its most important functions through its own agents. He might almost as well have handed over the management of the Treasury to the Bible Society, and called on the Board of Foreign Missions to conduct the Post-office. The great question now is, How long shall we wriggle and dodge and put up with fraud that cries to Heaven, in order to avoid a "thorough, radical, and complete reform" of the civil service, which should be officered by self-respecting men who could be trusted out of sight, and to whom their good name and their office would have more value than even "four years' good stealing"?

The Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad have made their annual report, which is, on the whole, unfavorable. They say that, considering that it was built mainly with Government money and designed to be "a great national thoroughfare," and that it has proved a great pecuniary success, its net earnings last year reaching fifty-eight per cent., they have felt bound to judge its condition not by the standard of the new roads west of the Mississippi, but by "the highest standard known in the railroad system of the country." Judged by this standard the deficiencies are many and apparent. There is no sign of first-class, uniform management. No uniform system is followed in filling the subordinate places, and the officers, coming from all sections of the country, bring with them varying methods and theories. Only 29 out of 1,026 miles of the iron rails have been replaced by steel; and the stations are in a bad condition, showing that the percentage of operating expenses has been too low. The policy of the company, too, has not been "public-spirited," or far-sighted or liberal in the matter of building up business along the line, although the rates cannot be considered extortionate. The report criticises the Senate Judiciary Committee, in reporting the Pacific Railroad Funding Bill of last session, for holding out the prospect of large net earnings as something probable and very desirable. The repayment of its own debt ought not, however, to be the sole concern of the Government in supervising the management of the road. It should, the Directors think, throw its influence on the side of a liberal policy towards the

public rather than on that of high immediate profits. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, jr., one of the Directors, has resigned, on the ground that no person can give the time required for a proper and thorough inspection of the road for the compensation now paid, and that the compensation, such as it is, comes, with divers civilities, not from the Government whose agent he is, but from the corporation whose doings he is to overhaul, which places him in an embarrassing position. The Government Auditor created by the late Act of Congress is, he thinks, competent to take care of the interests of the Government as the creditor of the company, but the work of supervising the working of the road itself cannot be done by persons appointed and paid as the present Directors are, and he pronounces them useless and withdraws from their number.

The charges brought by the Bar Association Committee against the Sheriff, the Register, and the County Clerk must almost necessarily result in the removal of the officers by the Governor. There is practically no denial of the facts by them; and Mr. Gumbleton's refusal to produce his books for the inspection of the Investigating Committee is, under the circumstances, not very different from a confession that he has no books to produce. The investigation may be regarded either as an honest attempt to prevent illegal extortion on the part of officials whose position gives them peculiar opportunities for imposition, or as a political movement. As a matter of reform in the public business, there can be no doubt that the Sheriff's office has richly deserved attack for a long time. It is, under our system, a position which is given from time to time to favorites of the "Boss" in order to make a fortune. The business of the office is so large that the legal fees would probably remunerate a Sheriff liberally, but little regard has been paid to the statutes. It is obviously very difficult for the public or members of the bar individually to protect themselves against this; it is for the interest of all lawyers having dealings with the Sheriff or his representatives to be on good terms with him, and lawyers who are not on good terms with him are apt to suffer for it in one way or another. This is true to a certain degree of the Register and the County Clerk as well. For lawyers who stand upon their rights and refuse to pay the regular charges of these officials, whether they are legal or not, searches of title are made more slowly and legal documents drawn up less willingly than for those who pay without complaint; and there is no easy way of either proving or punishing this sort of discrimination. There could not, therefore, be a more legitimate or praiseworthy channel for the moral energy of the Bar Association than an investigation of this kind, and if it should result in a reformation of the system it would confer a lasting benefit upon the community.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has written a letter to the Manchester (England) *Examiner*, in which he describes the regulations of "the court circle" in Canada, including the doctor's certificate for the ladies with the high-necked dresses, and points out the demoralizing effect the court is likely to have on Canadian manners, taking substantially the same view as that presented in our own columns. It will set a simple democratic society aping customs which are essentially foreign, and which have no real significance for them and do not grow out of their own thoughts or feelings, and it will plunge hundreds of poor people into ruinous expense. But when he says that it is likely to embroil the Canadians with this country he is decidedly mistaken. Those Americans who pay much attention to the doings of the Canadian court are not only not troubled by them, but would like to be on the spot and mingle in them themselves, and would gladly either wear the low-necked dress or the high-necked one with the doctor's certificate annexed. They are not persons of a philosophical turn of mind, either, and would not be in the least concerned by the probable effect of their performances on Canadian society. Indeed, if the "A. D. C. in waiting" at Ottawa is overworked, we could reinforce him with a "Brigadier-General in attendance."

Another bank—the Cornish Bank—has gone down in England, with liabilities estimated at \$5,000,000. A large amount (about

half a million) is said to be due to it from the mines of West Cornwall, the calling-in of which will suspend work and cause great distress in that region. The cause seems to be much the same as in the case of the Glasgow Bank and the West of England Bank—poor investments or loans, shrinkage, loss of confidence, and finally a run. The rapid succession of these catastrophes, and the revelation they are making of the worthlessness as security of the unlimited liability of the shareholders, is raising the question whether some legislative provision should not be made to keep down the size of the business undertaken by any one bank. The power of judicious investment possessed by any one man or set of men is limited, and so is the pecuniary responsibility of the stockholders; but the public apparently does not think so, and pours deposits in enormous amounts into concerns which can only manage them in the very best times. In the meantime the distress at all the great centres of industry is increasing, and there is no sign whatever of improvement in business; but the distress is not as yet anything like what it was in the cotton districts in 1862.

The vote of the Bishops in the House of Lords on the late amendment to the address approving of the conduct of the Ministry in the Afghan War is causing apparently a good deal of pain and scandal, among churchmen of the Liberal party at least. The war is an aggressive war, and the best that can be said of it is that it is offensive-defensive, that is, that it is an attack on a man who may at some period or other, if let alone, join in an attack on England—a consideration which might be excusably dominant in the mind of a mere soldier or mere politician. But people expect moral considerations to have more weight with Bishops than political or military ones; and when eight out of the nine Bishops present in the House of Lords voted with the Jingo for the Afghan War, even the Jingo was a little ashamed. The Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Fraser, who was unavoidably absent, has written to say that had he been present he would have voted with the Ministry; but the Bishop of Gloucester has written a letter explaining his vote, which makes matters a little worse. He says he voted as "a minister of the Gospel" as well as a politician to keep up British influence in India, "for be it remembered," he says, "the decline of English influence means also a decline in the advance of the Gospel." The plan of promoting "the advance of the Gospel" in India by carrying fire and sword into another country at the bidding of a Jew who secretly laughs over the Gospel, is probably odder, considering the quarter from which it comes, than any of the many odd things produced in England by the outburst of "Imperialism."

The French Republicans have achieved an extraordinary and unlooked-for triumph at the senatorial elections on the 5th instant. The best result that even Gambetta expected from them was a Republican majority of 20 to 25. It will probably reach 57. Of 47 retiring Conservative senators only 13 have been re-elected, while all the retiring Republicans have been elected, and the ruin seems to have overtaken all shades of Conservatism indiscriminately—the Bonapartists and Legitimists have gone down together. One of the curious incidents in the conflict has been the total defeat of M. Renan. He ran in the Bouches du Rhône, but did not receive a single vote, which is probably his punishment for being too gloomy about the condition of French society ever since 1870. Several Departments hitherto held by the Conservatives have been completely cleared of them. This great victory may be said to determine definitively the form of the French government, and to put a complete stopper on all monarchical expectations. The Republic now established has come in a way which promises durability—that is, it has not been set up in a burst of popular enthusiasm, but has slowly gained the popular confidence throughout the country, in the teeth of desperate opposition, by an actual exhibition of governing capacity in most difficult times. The Legitimists have lost the best chance they have had since 1815, and they probably now disappear finally from the political arena, to pass into poetry like the English Jacobins.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

SPECULATING about the next President a year and a half before his nomination would seem to be a sort of work which were best left to professional politicians, particularly in view of the notorious fact that the persons most talked about beforehand seldom obtain the nomination. But the whole country gets drawn into it, as well as the politicians, by the fact that both the party in power and the opposition begin at least two years before the nomination to regulate their policy and their utterances with strict reference to their probable effect on the Presidential contest. At this moment both Republicans and Democrats are considering the best mode of getting rid of all superfluous baggage and reaching the opening of the campaign with as little encumbrance and responsibility as possible, and will accordingly resist firmly all attempts to burden them with any measure or view the effect of which on the popular mind is at all doubtful or cannot be ascertained in time. The most trustworthy reports from Washington represent the Republicans as having virtually settled down to the belief that their true course is to advocate hard money and "wave the bloody shirt" up to the meeting of the Convention. The great advantage of this course is that it would not entail any responsibility of any kind. The restoration of specie payments is an accomplished fact, of which the Republicans are fairly entitled to the credit, and which will probably grow steadily in popular estimation between now and the meeting of the Convention, and to which they will be able to "point with pride" in the platform with considerable effect. It is a fact, too, which will need no nursing at their hands. The Democrats will between now and 1880 have a majority in both Houses, and will have to shoulder the responsibility of protecting the gold against any damage from silver in case of a turn in the balance of trade, while the Republicans will only need to look on and give wholesome advice. The public, too, and especially the commercial public, will grow more and more satisfied with the gold standard, and more and more averse to any further tinkering with or disturbance in the currency, so that the task of the Democrats whenever the silver problem and greenback problem come up for final solution, as they assuredly will before very long, will be very puzzling and delicate. They will have an opportunity, which will doubtless be anything but welcome, of showing what they meant by the mysterious talk of the St. Louis platform about "public economies," "official retrenchments," and "wise finance." We incline to the belief that they will before 1880 turn another financial somersault and come out as furious supporters of hard money of the Jackson school—a performance which will be much easier of execution than their last one of rising up in support of paper, but it will inevitably involve more or less scandal and discredit. No advantage would accrue to them from it but the increased "availability" of Mr. Bayard, in whom they have a candidate whom the Republicans cannot match in any particular; but it seems hardly possible that any revolution in Democratic opinions or policy could now go deep enough to give him the nomination.

The election troubles at the South, which are to furnish the Republicans with the remainder of their programme, have almost as many electioneering advantages as the defence of sound currency. In three States, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in which there are negro majorities and in which a free vote would almost certainly result in the restoration of governments of the carpet-bag type, there is sure to be violence and intimidation before every election until by some agency or other the negro vote is divided. This of itself will furnish the Stalwart wing of the Republican party with an excellent cry, because it will impose on the party no responsibility of any kind. It will furnish abundant materials for invective without calling for any attempt at legislation or other action, which is just what judicious managers preparing for a canvass like. There is, too, a way of looking at it which such Stalwart papers as the *Tribune* manage very dexterously, and which takes with a class of Republicans who are not Stalwart in the strict sense of the term. It consists in saying with an air of candor that

the "bayonet rule" was all wrong and was rightly brought to an end, and that the discontent and turbulence of the Southern whites under it were perhaps excusable, but that, now that it is over, further interference with the negro vote is wholly inexcusable and unfair. The fact is, however, that "bayonet rule" has not existed at the South since the revolted States were reconstructed. The carpet-bag governments were regular governments of the majority, but it so happened that the majority did not possess the physical force of the community, and their rule was of a kind which the minority felt justified in overthrowing by armed force, and what the Federal troops did was to prevent this revolt from taking place. In the States we have mentioned a free and uninfluenced negro vote would probably still result in setting up other governments of the carpet-bag type, which would, if once set up, be again entitled to call for Federal aid. It is to prevent this that the whites exert all their moral and social influence, and, when these are exhausted, resort to violence—a view which is strongly supported by the fact that in the States in which there is a clear white majority there are no election troubles at all. Consequently, although the withdrawal of the troops has caused the overthrow of the negro governments, it has not effected a radical change in the situation. Nothing will do this but the disappearance of all danger of the ascendancy of a colored party in State politics. Troubles capable of use for electioneering purposes at the North, though wholly unamenable to Federal treatment, may therefore be looked for for an indefinite period, and, if dexterously handled, will give more or less advantage to the Republican party.

The present Administration will, at the end of its term, have rendered the party three inestimable services in relieving it of responsibility for the condition of the South, in restoring specie payments and completing the refunding of the public debt, and in effacing the remembrance of the scandals of the Grant régime by four years of, on the whole, pure and orderly government. But the weakness of the President and his Cabinet in the matter of party allegiance has so exasperated the managers that probably no attempt to "point with pride" to all this will be made, and the party will thus be deprived of what has hitherto been a very useful weapon. For still stronger reasons it will probably not raise again the banner of civil-service reform. The greatest misfortune, as we have often maintained in these columns, that could befall this reform was to have it taken up in theory with ardor by a President of unquestioned sincerity and tenacity, and then either abandoned or disregarded without explanation when the time came for practice. This misfortune has befallen it. A large number of Mr. Hayes's appointments have been made on the worst principles of the worst times, and have given office to many bad characters; and yet it has all been done with an air of simplicity and fidelity which of course warrants the unregenerate politicians in concluding, and saying, that when he used the famous phrase of his letter of acceptance he was talking about an abstraction, and had no definite idea in his mind any more than the "theorists" who were egging him on. The result of this has been, of course, to discredit the agitation on this subject, and to encourage the upholders of the old system in declaring that it is the one best suited to American habits and traditions, and that, anyhow, there is no getting rid of it.

Another result of it is undoubtedly to revive the talk of General Grant as a candidate, and to rouse the activity of his old friends and companions. The abuse of his appointing and removing power did more than anything else to disgust the country with his administration, and to procure the insertion of the civil-service plank in the Republican platform. Mr. Hayes's failure on this point has, therefore, acted somewhat as an apology or justification for him, and in the eyes of his followers removed the most serious obstacle to his reappearance in the political arena. Their hopes, too, are still further stimulated by the dissolution of the small but active band of malcontents who were known as Independents before Mr. Hayes's nomination. One of General Grant's supporters, in fact, the other day enumerated with gusto, among the obstacles removed from his path, the entrance of Mr. Schurz into the present

Cabinet; the change in the management of the *Chicago Tribune*; the loss of influence of the Cincinnati *Commercial* through its maniacal treatment of the currency question; the death of Mr. Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican*; and, though last not least, the desertion of the New York *Tribune*. We do not think these things are great gains for General Grant, for we do not believe he will be nominated, but they undoubtedly are gains for the school of politics he represented, and which will probably have great—let us hope not fatal—weight in the Republican Convention. It is possible for the party by a great mistake this time to lose all chance of a return to power in twenty years; for assuredly, if the Democrats get hold of “the machine” in the condition in which the Republicans are now disposed to leave it, they will work it in a fashion which will give even Mr. Conkling new light as to its capacity.

THE EXTRADITION OF CRIMINALS.

THE State Department has published the Report of the British Royal Commission on Extradition, forwarded by Mr. Welsh last summer. The Commission consisted of some of the most eminent lawyers of England, including Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Sir James Stephen, and Alfred Henry Thesiger, and the conclusions at which they arrive must command assent not only in England but in this country, where the questions at issue are almost precisely the same. They report that the practice of extradition rests both on what may be considered an international motive, *i.e.*, the common interest of mankind that offences against person and property shall be punished, and on the local interest of the state into which the criminal has fled in having him removed from its borders; that on the first ground it is reasonable to claim a union among civilized nations in a system for the common benefit of all—in other words, reciprocity; on the second that even if any state should fail to concede full reciprocity, there is no principle which should make England unwilling to get rid of fugitive criminals of other states. They therefore suggest that the treaty system be given up, and that statutory power be given to the proper authorities to deliver up fugitive criminals whose surrender is asked for, irrespective of the existence of any treaty on the subject. Inasmuch, however, “as treaties may sometimes be necessary by the laws or constitutions of foreign states to enable effect to be given to conditions” on which the English Government may properly insist, and for other reasons, it is suggested that this statutory power shall extend only to the cases of those foreign countries to which the crown may, from time to time, declare it to apply. In most of the existing English treaties a stipulation is contained prohibiting the surrender of a fugitive criminal if a subject of the state in which he is found, in respect of a crime committed in the other state. This the Commission think unnecessary and inexpedient, for the reason that extradition is based on mutual confidence, and there is no more cause for distrust of the fair administration of justice in such a case than in any other. It is further recommended that extradition should embrace “all those offences which it is the common interest of all nations to suppress; that is to say, offences against person and property, including in the latter category cases of fraud the purpose of which is to obtain property or money, offences against the bankrupt laws, “forgery and offences relating to the coinage” (making no distinction between felonies and misdemeanors), but excluding entirely “offences of a political or local character,” such as “laws relating to military or naval service, laws relating to religion, laws relating to the duties of public officers, police regulations, and the like.”

Mr. Welsh remarks in his letter that this report takes the view favored by the State Department, and we have no doubt that this is true, now that Mr. Evarts is at its head. That it favors what was known as the American view of the subject during Mr. Fish's régime it is a total mistake to suppose. That view was that, under an extradition treaty, you could extradite a criminal for one offence and try him for a totally different one. We pointed out at the time in these columns that this view was incorrect, because it involved the danger that a man might be tried not only for a political but

for a local offence, and that this was a substantial injustice, inasmuch as many countries pass laws of a local character, laws on the subject of religion, etc., which provide for the severe punishment of offences not recognized by other countries to be serious offences, or perhaps offences at all. An instance of this would be our own revenue laws, which impose serious penalties for offences in Great Britain regarded as trifling. Now, the British Commission propose to provide against this question arising by excluding these cases from extradition altogether. Further than this, they express the opinion that if “some offence unknown to . . . what may figuratively be called the common law of nations should be created by the laws of a particular people, such an offence would not come within the category of crimes which it is the purpose of extradition to repress.” They add that, to find out whether an offence is extraditable, resort must be had to English law, that “being abundantly comprehensive.” Finally, on the question whether a person surrendered for one offence can be tried for another, the Commission see no reason why, “political and local offences being excepted,” he should not. This exception, of course, removes every possible objection; and we presume that, if these recommendations are carried out, the practical result would be that in such a case as that of Winslow, if it clearly came within the exception and we persisted in trying it, an order in council would be made, bringing extradition between Great Britain and the United States to an end. If this is the American view, we are very glad of it, for it is undoubtedly as sound and sensible as anything American can be desired to be.

As between the United States and foreign nations there never has been really any reason for a dispute, as the perfect satisfaction expressed at the conclusions of this report shows. A great deal of the controversy which was carried on between this Government and that of Great Britain two years ago was based upon a confusion caused by the use of the term “right of asylum.” These words in the popular mind, no doubt, signify a supposed “right” of a fugitive from political persecution to be sheltered from pursuit, and in this view political offences would seem to be the only ones out of which the right could grow. It would follow from this that so long as no attempt was made to infringe this right the fugitive could raise no objection to being tried for an offence different from that for which he had been surrendered. But the fact is that there is no such “right” as the “right of asylum.” In law a *right* cannot exist without what lawyers call a *sanction* to enforce it, and a corresponding duty in some one else to recognize it. Now, no fugitive can enforce the right of asylum anywhere. If the British Government, or our own, undertook to abrogate it, and were to make it suddenly a practice to surrender fugitives charged with political offences, although it would be rightly considered an outrage, no one would have any redress. As an individual the fugitive could not establish his right. The Government which demanded his surrender would certainly not undertake to establish it for him, and no other country would have any ground of interference on the general principles of international law. The fact is that the “right of asylum” is a privilege accorded by the nations which recognize it, and though it is generally granted only in cases of political offences, the reason on which it is founded—the recognition of the justice of protecting fugitives from persecutions for acts *not regarded as criminal* in the country of refuge, or generally by mankind—applies, precisely as the English Commission declare, to all cases of a *local* character. It follows from this necessarily that if a fugitive is surrendered for one offence and tried for another, although it may be perfectly true that the court of his own country in which he is brought up for trial may not be at liberty to enquire into the question, the surrendering Government may have a good cause of complaint on the grounds just suggested.

On the whole, the discussion over extradition as between sovereign governments would seem to have left the matter in a very satisfactory state. We wish that as much could be said with regard to extradition within the limits of the United States—we mean between the States of the Union. It is a remarkable fact, brought to

light in a startling manner in the hearing before Governor Rice, of Massachusetts, on the application for the extradition of Kimpton by Governor Hampton, of South Carolina, that, although the Constitution expressly provides for the extradition of all criminals in the most general terms, a State governor may if he pleases set the provision entirely at naught, and by a judicious exercise of executive discretion convert his State into a regular felons' asylum. In the Kimpton case the real legal ground of the refusal to surrender was concealed from view by the reasons advanced for the refusal. In fact, Mr. Rice obtained a good deal of sympathy and approval in some quarters because he was shrewd enough to insist that his examination of the case had satisfied him that the demand for surrender was not made in good faith, and that the motive of the demand was to further a political persecution. But the *ground* on which he was advised that he could take that position was that he had absolute, unlimited, and arbitrary power to surrender or not surrender as he pleased. And this is unquestionably true. The Constitution (Article iv., sec. 2) does, indeed, provide in the most positive language that a fugitive from justice in any State, charged with "treason, felony, or other crime," and found in another State, "shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime"; and the laws of the United States provide ("Revised Statutes," sec. 5,278) that in case of a demand from one State executive upon another under this clause, and the production of a copy of the indictment or a proper affidavit duly certified, "it shall be the duty of" the executive upon whom the demand is made to cause the fugitive "to be arrested and secured," to cause notice of the arrest to be given to the other executive or his agent, "and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear." Not a word is said as to reasons for not delivering. He is to be delivered in any case. Further than this, it has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of a suit brought by the State of Kentucky against the governor of Ohio (24 Howard, 66), that the "duty" imposed by this statute was an absolute ministerial duty; that the governor upon whom the demand was made had no discretion whatever to examine into the merits of the case; but that, on a proper demand being made, he must surrender the fugitive, just as any sheriff or marshal must arrest a man against whom he has a warrant.

Nevertheless, owing to the peculiar condition of the law on this subject, there is no punishment provided for a refusal to surrender; and so, in the case just referred to, when the governor of Ohio refused to surrender the fugitives, the court held, against its inclination, that it could not compel the performance of his duty. And this was precisely the foundation of Governor Rice's refusal in the Kimpton case—a knowledge that he could not be punished. This is what he terms the "discretion" vested in him. It is precisely the same sort of discretion that any criminal has to commit an offence to which the laws have annexed no penalty.

And this brings us to the important question whether there is any means by which this abnormal and scandalous state of things can be brought to an end. As the Supreme Court said in the case just referred to, "It would seem that when the Constitution was framed, and when this law was passed, it was confidently believed that a sense of justice and of mutual interest would ensure a faithful execution of this Constitutional provision by the executive of every State, for every State has an equal interest in the execution of a compact absolutely essential to their peace and well-being in their internal concerns, as well as members of the Union." But if governors can exercise a "discretion" of this sort, and there is no way of preventing it, it will certainly not be very long before the exercise of it ripens into a common practice, and we shall present to the world the grotesque spectacle of a country which in its dealings with foreign nations limits the "right of asylum" to the fewest possible cases, and in its internal concerns recognizes the right of some forty local politicians, most of them too undistinguished to make their love of reputation a guarantee of any value, turning their States into asylums for any criminal who can bring sufficient "pres-

sure" to bear to get a hearing. It must not be forgotten, either, that the connection between crime and politics is in the United States closer than it would be in an ideal community, and it is no uncommon thing for gentlemen of considerable prominence to be engaged in both pursuits at once. It does not require any great stretch of fancy to imagine a state of things, say in Tweed's time, when executive "discretion" in cases of this kind would play very much the same part in encouraging crime that executive "clemency" is believed to have done in States whose governors have refused to issue death-warrants because they were opposed to hanging.

A curious case has just occurred in Illinois, in which Governor Cullom has refused to surrender two Pennsylvania criminals who removed to Illinois some years ago. These fugitives, who appear to have a strong sense of humor, say in their petition that immediately after the "affair" to which "the indictment refers," which is alleged to have been a brutal murder in a bar-room, but which they describe as one of "a mere private and personal character," they removed to Illinois, where they have since been living as peaceable citizens and have been forming "a large circle of acquaintances." On this the governor refused to surrender the two petitioners. It is obvious that this is practically the exercise of a pardoning power by the governor of one State for offences committed in another, and that, too, on an *ex-parte* statement of the criminals themselves.

The provision of some efficacious means of securing inter-State extradition has never been seriously considered by Congress, and the opinion has been expressed by the Supreme Court that it is not within the power of Congress to force a State officer to perform the duty. But there is one way of getting over the difficulty to which there seems no objection, and that is by referring the whole matter to the courts. There is nothing in the Constitutional provision quoted above requiring the demand to be made upon the governor of the State, and the only reason why the law refers to the governor at all is that this was the practice under the Confederation, when extradition was almost what it is now between sovereign governments, and the governor stood in the place of the ruler of a foreign country. But this is not the case now, and the United States exercise authority for many purposes within the limits of the several States. There seems no reason why in extradition cases, whenever there is a controversy as to the right to demand the surrender, this question should not be heard and decided by courts of the United States. Such a controversy is certainly one which seems to come within two or three classes mentioned in the Constitution as embraced under the judicial power of the general Government—i.e., cases "arising under" the Constitution itself, under "the laws of the United States," and "controversies between two or more States."

GENESIS AND HISTORY OF "A STORY."

[Letter of Z. L. W., dated Orangeburg, S. C., Nov. 23, in Tribune, Nov. 29, 1878.]

"I HAVE heard many interesting incidents of the late election in this county illustrative of the means to which the Democrats resorted to win their so-called victory. I shall give only one or two of them. The Rev. Dr. Cooke, of Massachusetts, is the president of the Claflin University for colored people. I was informed by a Democrat before I had been an hour in town that the Doctor voted the Democratic ticket openly, and that he was a very popular man among the people here. Upon enquiry I learned that in 1876, at the time of Governor Hampton's inauguration, Dr. Cooke came from Columbia to Orangeburg one night on a train with a gang of roughs who had been to the capital to take part in the 'fun at the fair.' Recognizing him as a Northern man, a Republican, and the president of an institution for colored people, these chivalrous young men gathered around him, insulted him in the most outrageous manner, called him all sorts of vile names, hustled him about, and kept him in mortal terror for three hours. The fright actually made him sick, and I have been told that he subsequently wrote an account of the affair to a Northern religious newspaper, in which he declared that he believed his life to have been in danger. This year he rode to the polls in the wagon provided by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters, and openly cast a Democratic ballot. The Republicans here would be glad to know if he was converted by the Bulldozers in 1876."

In reply to the foregoing, in which the italics are our own, Dr. Cooke wrote in the Tribune of Dec. 21, 1878:

"In your paper of November 29 your able correspondent from this State introduces my name in connection with the political excitements of

the day. I cannot conceive how a paragraph of the same length could possibly be written containing more misstatements and false coloring than the one in question. I do not hold the writer responsible so much as his informant, who evidently wished to hold me up in as ridiculous a light as possible before the Northern people. Not one true or fair statement is contained in the paragraph which relates to myself.

"I have been a Republican at the North ever since the party was organized, and am so still. But I can't say I am willing to claim political fraternity with the most claiming to be such whom I have met in South Carolina. True, I voted for Wade Hampton at the late election, without waiting to ride to the polls 'in a wagon provided by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters.' I have never been bulldozed into any change of political opinion. My action was based upon good and satisfactory reasons:

"1. I believe in home government everywhere, if a good government can be secured.

"2. There was no opposing candidate to Governor Hampton.

"3. After watching his course carefully for two years, I fully believe he is a true friend of the colored man, and is doing vastly more for his elevation in this Commonwealth than any Northern man could under a bayonet rule. I need only point to the improved common schools and increased facilities for his intellectual training in proof of this assertion.

"Your correspondent would, it seems to me, do well to get at the true facts rather than become the organ of private grievances."

Z. L. W. replied to this (*Tribune*, Nov. 29) that he had the story about the wagon from "four different persons," "gentlemen of high character," but "whose names" (as usual in these cases) "he does not feel at liberty to publish." He "still believed, after reading Dr. Cooke's letter, that he was carried to the polls on election day by some of his Democratic friends." The other story, about the popularity, he had from "the hotel-keeper in the village," and "the story about the insults and abuse" he had from "an eye-witness" and from "another South Carolina gentleman who happened to be on the same train." He has no evidence whatever, however, on the essential point in his first "story"—i.e., the relation of cause and effect between Dr. Cooke's being insulted in a train in 1876 and his voting the Democratic ticket in 1878, and which Dr. Cooke denies.

On the matter in this stage the *Nation* thus commented (January 2, 1878):

"The newspapers which have been giving publicity to the grievances that respectable Republicans at the South have suffered at the hands of the Democracy seem to have performed an ungrateful task. Some of the persecuted ones disclaim the crown of martyrdom which is thrust upon them, and flatly deny the accounts of terrorism which correspondents have been at such pains to collect. Among those who decline to be the objects of what they consider a misplaced sympathy is the Rev. Dr. Cooke, the president of Claflin University for colored people, of South Carolina. The *Tribune* of November 29 contained an account of intimidation at the South in which it was asserted that Dr. Cooke had been carried to the polls this year in a wagon used by the Democrats to bring in aged and infirm voters, and that he had openly voted the Democratic ticket. The writer said that this painful sight was the result of dreadful ill-treatment which Dr. Cooke had received at the hands of roughs on a railway train at the time of Governor Hampton's election in 1876, which treatment had frightened him into complete submission to Democratic wishes. Dr. Cooke writes to the *Tribune* that 'not one true or fair statement is contained in the paragraph relating to himself.' He denies explicitly that his political action has ever been influenced by intimidation, and adds that, although a Republican himself, he claims no political fraternity with many Republicans in the South. His vote was cast on good and satisfactory grounds, especially because, after watching Governor Hampton's course for two years, he believes that he is a 'true friend of the colored man, and is doing vastly more for his elevation in this Commonwealth [South Carolina] than any Northern man could under bayonet rule.' Dr. Cooke adds that he 'need only point to the improved common schools and the increased facilities for the negro's intellectual training in proof of this assertion.'

"The *Tribune* correspondent replies by a reference to the 'high character' of his informants, but, apparently feeling shaken in regard to the grievances of Dr. Cooke, he puts his best talent into corroborating the story about the Democratic wagon for the aged and infirm. This incident is supported by the testimony of one Democrat and three Republicans, whose names he sends the editor privately, but does not feel at liberty to publish. And so the wretched fight is kept up."

The *Tribune*, in its issue of January 2, then spoke as below (the italics again are ours, and they refer to other italics in the foregoing extracts). The allusion to "disingenuousness" is not bad, after the suppression of the fact that the correspondent gave Dr. Cooke's case, as described by himself, as "an illustration of the means to which the Democrats resorted to win their so-called victory":

"The Rev. Dr. E. Cooke, President of Claflin University, in South Carolina, seems to be a swift witness. The *Tribune's* correspondent, 'Z. L. W.,' in his letter published November 29, mentioned the fact that he voted the Democratic ticket openly at the late election, and in connection with that circumstance, after relating a story, which was certainly

current in South Carolina at the time, concerning the treatment the reverend gentleman received at the hands of the chivalry in 1876, said: 'The Republicans here would be glad to know if he was converted by the Bulldozers in 1876.' Our contemporary, the *Nation*, will no doubt be glad to correct its statement that 'the writer said that this painful sight was the result of dreadful ill-treatment which Dr. Cooke had received at the hands of roughs on a railway train at the time of Governor Hampton's election in 1876, which treatment had frightened him into complete submission to Democratic wishes.' We have great admiration for the candor and independence of our contemporary, but in this case its desire to divest itself of all prejudice against our Southern brethren has tinged its gentle sarcasm with exaggeration. The *Tribune's* correspondent simply related what was currently reported, and made the comment above quoted. The reverend gentleman subsequently, in a letter to the *Tribune*, denied the truth of the report, and our contemporary, in its zeal for truth, hastens to inform its readers that he 'denies explicitly that his political action has ever been influenced by intimidation, and adds that, although a Republican himself, he claims no political fraternity with many Republicans in the South.' It is an oversight, perhaps, that our contemporary neglected to mention that our correspondent gave his authority for the report, and referred to the testimony of an eye-witness of the occurrences described in corroboration of their truth. Is any other than an independent newspaper the classing of the Rev. Dr. Cooke, upon the strength of what the *Tribune's* correspondent said of him, among 'the persecuted ones' who disclaim the crown of martyrdom which is thrust upon them, and flatly deny the accounts of terrorism which correspondents have been at such pains to collect, might be considered disingenuous. The facts hardly warrant the inference that the *Tribune* awarded him 'the crown of martyrdom,' or made him an 'object of misplaced sympathy.'"

We again repeat that this exposure does not prove that there was no violence or fraud at the late election in South Carolina, but it does illustrate the recklessness and unscrupulousness with which Southern troubles are distorted, colored, and exaggerated to make party capital at the North. It is a miserable business, and the *Tribune* ought to be ashamed of it and drop it. The contention with Dr. Cooke as to whether the hustling he got from some rowdies in 1876 did not make him change his vote two years later, is as comic as anything in recent political literature. What caused the correspondent to take the trouble to prepare "the story" undoubtedly was the firm possession of his mind by the theory, which lay at the bottom of Mr. Blaine's speech in the Senate, that not only every negro, but every white man engaged in the instruction of negro youth, must, in the absence of duress, desire to vote the Republican ticket even in South Carolina; and that when he says he does not desire to vote it, he is not to be believed even on oath, and his person ought to be examined for welts and bruises.

THE PROPOSED REFORM IN OUR LAND AND SCIENTIFIC SURVEYS.

DURING the last ten years four distinct autonomous geographical and geological surveys, besides the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the sixteen virtually independent surveys now connected with the Land Office, have been conducted simultaneously. This is obviously illogical, unscientific, and clumsy. Naturally the results in detail are found to be of limited value for the more important national purposes. The original determinations by these several surveys have been without agreement, their objects diverse, their mode of operation discordant; their productions are sometimes contradictory, and often have occasioned needless cost by duplication or overlapping, and also by undue, or at least premature, attention to particular localities. The operations of the special surveys under the War and Interior Departments have not generally been and were not designed to be useful for the parcelling of land; the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey in the interior neither includes that object nor topography; and the land surveys proper, while of the slightest topographical and geographical, and of no geological, value, have been conducted in an antiquated and costly method shown by experience to be inadequate to the very purpose of their establishment.

This disgraceful and senseless confusion has been occasioned by the stunted range given to the several organizations, as Congress was at various times persuaded of their propriety. The land surveys were devised nearly a century ago to meet the simplest needs of sale and settlement, and have not been modified to conform with improvements in mensuration and wholly changed conditions. The Coast and Geodetic Survey was instituted merely for the wants of commerce, to which the systematic triangulation it now conducts at several points in the interior is but incidental. The special geographical and geological surveys owe their origin to the laudable ambition of several gentlemen who from time to time pressed the claims of those branches of science, and exhibited such real or (in some cases) specious results in certain directions of their yearly labors as to receive continuance of temporary appropriations. Of late

years, however, the vicious terms of their separate existence on mere annual sufferance have produced an unhealthy competition for public favor, taking sometimes the ignoble form of contention in the presentation of photographs to members of Congress, and a show of multiplied thick volumes more or less irrelevant to the duties imposed, but seeming to legislators regardless of that criterion, or who never opened them, proof of vast energy and erudition. Instead of original contributions to knowledge there has appeared reliance on membership in many learned societies, easily obtained in exchange for cart-loads of publications not written by the owner of the name on their title-pages and in the diplomas. Vanity, greed, and malice were also developed in the struggle, resulting in schemes for individual supremacy in and monopoly of all scientific work connected with, or by any stretch of implication to be included in, the broad field of territorial exploration. This necessarily induced resistance, recrimination, and mutual exposure.

Near the close of the last Congress the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives, not only wearied by complaints and assumptions, but recognizing the impossibility of obtaining conscientious work with the minimum of expense from internecine rivals without permanent status, who could misapply public funds for self-advertisement and factitious reputation, announced that no more appropriations would be reported for any of the surveys in question, until some judicious system of consolidation under proper direction should be adopted. At the last session further examination was made by the same committee with the result that its members, not being able from their own information to decide upon the conflicting claims, while reiterating their decision to make no future appropriations, took a second and most judicious step. By a clause in the act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses they enlarged the scope of enquiry to include the surveys of the Land Office, together with those of a scientific character under the War and Interior Departments, and referred the whole subject of surveying and mapping the territories of the United States to the highest scientific authority in the country—the National Academy of Sciences—for report upon a general system to secure the best results at the least possible cost.

The report of the Academy, just published, touches upon several of the points above mentioned, but lays special stress upon the dominant necessity for the present and near future—viz., the proper survey and classification of what remains of the public domain, so as to meet the wants of settlers and the requirements of Government. And here it seems proper to examine into the present mode of survey under the Land Office. The objects of that organization were primarily to parcel the lands so that titles to definite portions might be conveyed from the United States to individuals, and, secondarily, that the value and characteristics of the land might be ascertained. Neither of these ends has been well attained, from the fact that there was never a proper scientific supervision. Instead of having a single, responsible head, the surveys have been managed by a multiplicity of local surveyors-general, now sixteen, practically autonomous, who do not themselves conduct the actual surveys, and are not even selected as experts to supervise them, but are appointed, when not solely for political influence, for legal and administrative ability. They are law officers intermediate between the General Land Office and the deputy surveyors who do the work. That is done by contract and often sub-let, so that a large number of persons are annually employed, each one adopting his own mode of operations, only conforming to certain general regulations. Latitudes, longitudes, altitudes, and topographical positions have been neither absolutely nor relatively established with any accuracy, the personal interests of the surveyors under the contracts being opposed to accurate and scientific detail. The cartographic methods have been so diverse and imperfect that no general map of value can be constructed from the immense number of township maps filed in the Land Office. The surveys have proceeded by north and south and east and west lines, without scientific checks for their extension, from a number of initial points the geographical co-ordinates of which were not determined. When the surveys met it was found that no two systems could be made to agree, and connections were forced by irregular fractional subdivisions. Corners were marked by wooden stakes, when such were easily found, to decay as easily, or by small heaps of raked-up earth, to wash away in rains. In timber districts the lines were further marked by blazing adjacent trees, which often were destroyed. All such expedients are unavailing when no thorough topographic system is adopted, and the charts became practically valueless. These charts furnish a monumental example of ill-directed work. The Land Office is encumbered with more than thirty-five thousand manuscript maps of elaborate construction, costing more than twenty-three millions of dollars, and sup-

posed to represent the topographic features of more than one million one hundred thousand square miles of territory. They are of little worth for economic considerations, of absolutely none for scientific uses, and are so imperfect for parcelling that endless litigation relating to boundary lines has grown out of them and must increase with the value of land. In the mineral districts now worked this already appears as a great evil, and the futile records are supplied when possible by parole evidence, to the proverbial encouragement of perjury.

All useful purposes can be attained by a triangulation extended from a system of base-lines accurately measured, with positions determined; from points in these all the lines of the parcelling surveys can be checked. Such a system of primary triangulation would not only remedy the chief defects in the survey of the public lands, but would secure economy, rendering much of the present work unnecessary and distributing the cost of the remainder over years in a manner the least burdensome. The land remaining to be surveyed and sold amounts to 1,101,107,183 acres, but the small proportion of it now attractive to settlement has tended to plant population in scattered districts where water can be found, and those districts are separated by mountains and expanses of barren plains. To survey the desirable districts by present methods it is necessary to run lines from standard meridians and parallels or from established township corners; and those lines must be marked and measured before the contractor can receive his pay. To connect isolated districts through a series of township corners is a needless expense; to mark the corners by perishable devices wherever they may chance to fall in the mountains is futile, and the inaccuracy in a difficult country is apparent. A proper triangulation would dispense with much unnecessary work which the contractor now finds it in his interest to perform. Having great discretion in the selection of districts to be surveyed, he chooses those requiring least cost to himself without regard to their speedy or probable occupation. Thus millions of worthless acres have been parcelled to no advantage. The difficulty and cost of the present mode of survey in the Far West will be much greater than where heretofore employed, while on the other hand geographical work can be more readily performed there from the absence of timber, the abundant salient points for triangulation, and the numerous elevations commanding intervening valleys. The work of the geologist can also be there conducted with unusual speed and economy on account of the general aridity and consequent destitution of vegetation and soil. From these considerations it is probable that all necessary surveys can, under a proper method, be completed for the cost that would be incurred for the land-parcelling surveys alone.

It will be admitted that for any intelligent administration of the public domain a thorough knowledge of its geologic structure, natural resources and products, is indispensable. Existing laws require also classification in the interest of the Government. The statutes designate for disposal in different modes and at several prices the classes of—1st, Agricultural; 2d, Swamp; 3d, Desert, or lands only valuable for agriculture through irrigation; 4th, Timber; 5th, Live-Oak and Cedar; 6th, Mineral Vein; 7th, Placer; and 8th, Coal Lands. While all these classes are supposed to be determined, no adequate provision is made therefor, and the laws are inoperative or readily evaded. Coal lands, for instance, salable at ten or twenty dollars per acre, are usually obtained by purchase at \$1 25 per acre, or by homestead and pre-emption entry. The hypsometric methods now employed by the several surveys are inadequate to meet the practical wants of the arid region, embracing more than four-tenths of the whole area of the United States, where agriculture, when possible, is dependent upon irrigation. In all of this region the relative levels of the land to the adjacent streams by which they are to be fertilized must be determined before parcelling and sale. The necessity for this work, with new farm units and an improved mode of distribution, to render available the remaining portions of our public lands, has been before explained in these columns (*Nation*, No. 670).

The Academy recommends the discontinuance, first, of the present geographical survey west of the 100th Meridian under the War Department, except surveys necessary for military purposes and local internal improvements; second, of the geographical and geological surveys under the Department of the Interior; and third, of the present surveys under the Land Office. In place of these conflicting and imperfect organizations, it urges, first, that the Coast and Geodetic Survey, retaining its original field of operations, should assume also the entire mensuration of the public domain, and comprise, together with land-parcelling surveys, detailed topographic work and rapid reconnaissances; and that this survey, hitherto without controlling reason connected with the Treasury Department, should, in view of the paramount importance of the public

lands, the disposition of which is necessarily in the Department of the Interior, be placed under the latter with the designation of Coast and Interior Survey; second, that an independent organization, to be known as the Geological Survey, should be charged with the study of the geologic structure and economic resources of the public domain, to be placed under a director appointed by the President and reporting directly to the Secretary of the Interior. The Land Office remains in the same department, controlling the disposition and sale of land, including all questions of title and record, calling upon the Coast and Interior Survey for all surveys and measurements required, and upon the Geological Survey for all information as to classification.

No opposition prompted by good motives or supported by solid reasons can be offered to these admirable recommendations. Any objections from the Engineer Corps of the Army will, we are persuaded, give way on reflection to considerations of the public good. No chief of the civilian surveys will be likely to declare himself indispensable, and his pet plan the embodiment by patent right of all science. Delay in the remedial legislation is more to be apprehended from the sixteen surveyors-general, their deputies, and sub-contractors, whose business and perhaps "jobs" will be interfered with. These officers, being political appointees, all have friends or relatives in Congress, and will doubtless organize a lobby to defeat reform, but it is not probable that their interested efforts will prevail against obvious economy and common sense.

'LES MIRABEAU.'—I.

PARIS, December 13, 1878.

M. DE LOMÉNIE is well known in the literary world by his 'Beaumarchais et son temps.' He had chosen the eighteenth century as his special department, and he only studied its curious literature; he tried to find the causes of the terrible Revolution which ended it. M. de Loménie was a man of the world; he took a deep interest in politics; he had, in his youth, enjoyed the friendship of Madame Récamier at the Abbaye aux Bois; he had known Chateaubriand; he had become the most intimate friend of Ampère and of Tocqueville. He felt at times inclined to enter into political life, but he had none of the vices which assure the success of a man, if I may borrow this expression, which was sometimes used by the late Lord Clarendon. He belonged to an old, aristocratic family, but he had very little fortune, and he was obliged to accept two professorships—one at the Polytechnic School, the other at the Collège de France—in order to educate his family. As he was very conscientious, these functions deprived him almost of all liberty, and it was under great difficulties that he published his studies upon the family of Mirabeau.

Mirabeau was the great figure of the French Revolution; he belonged to the past, and he hurled France into the abyss of revolution. M. de Loménie had met, when he was still young, the adopted son of Mirabeau, M. Lucas de Montigny, whom he describes as a most kindly and excellent man. M. Lucas de Montigny had an immense amount of documents concerning Mirabeau and his family. He himself had used some of these documents, and published a work which he entitled 'Memoirs of Mirabeau,' though the great orator did not write these Memoirs. M. de Loménie, who was a real critic, soon perceived that M. Lucas de Montigny had neglected many important parts in the family papers of Mirabeau. He undertook to bring back to life not only the great Mirabeau, but all the members of his family, especially his father, the Marquis, and his mother, the Marquise, and his uncle, the Bailli. Mirabeau once said that the Mirabeaus were the "family of Atreus and Thyestes." All is now forgotten of the terrible quarrels of the Marquis of Mirabeau with his son, his wife, and even his daughter; the scandals of his son's life are forgotten also, and have died in the halo of his Revolutionary glory. Donoso Cortés, the great Spanish orator, once spoke of the Revolution as of a woman walking, like the ancient furies, with her head covered with serpents; the Revolution would be better compared to a magician who can turn everything into gold, and every servant into a saint or a hero. But "scripta manent," and M. de Loménie was determined to show to the world the real Mirabeau.

The two volumes which have now been published represent only half the work of M. de Loménie. He could not finish his task; he has left even the two volumes which are given to the public in an unfinished state, and Madame de Loménie has been obliged to fill some parts with the notes left by her husband. Such as they are, they show us all the members of the family of Mirabeau, but Mirabeau himself does not yet appear—at least he does not yet fill the stage. It is "Hamlet" without

Hamlet; but the reader will not be disappointed if, looking only for a study of the manners of the end of the eighteenth century, he wishes to live in imagination at the eve of the great Revolution. He will, besides, have all the pleasures of a drama, for the Mirabeaus are a dramatic family; they seem to be the remnants of the feudal ages; they have a turbulence, a violence, a degree of passion which is not often found among the contemporaries of Voltaire. There is some harmony between nature and man. The Mirabeaus belong to the higher districts of Provence. If you go from Pertuis to Manosque you see before you, behind the black mountains of the Luberon, the chain of the Alps. Not far from Pertuis, on a rock between two narrow gorges, stands the château of Mirabeau, with its four high towers. Before the Revolution it had two towers more; after that terrible period it was deserted, became the refuge of wild beasts, and was used by all the peasants of Manosque as a quarry, till it was sold to a peasant for a ridiculous price. In 1815 it was bought back from this peasant for the sum of five hundred francs, by a gentleman who had been educated by the great Mirabeau till he was nine years old, and to whom Mirabeau had made a legacy in these terms: "I leave to the son of Lucas de Montigny, sculptor, known under the name of the *petit Coco*, the sum of 24,000 livres, which will be invested to his profit by the care of my friend La Marck." The little Coco had become an administrator under the Empire, and remained some time at Marseilles; he had the curiosity to see the ancestral seat of the Mirabeaus, and, as I said, he bought it for five hundred francs. The castle is now inhabited by his son, who has restored it as much as possible. The Marquis de Mirabeau, the father of the orator, describes the higher Provence in these terms: "Burning sun, excessive climate, savage aspect, rocks, birds of prey, devouring rivers, torrents either dry or overflowing; the men hard, strong, outspoken, and uneasy." This word "excessive," which he applies to the climate of Provence, well describes all the Mirabeaus.

The Mirabeaus were first known under the name of Riqueti; they only bought the castle of Mirabeau in 1570. M. de Loménie proves conclusively that the Riqueti were not a noble Florentine family, as is often alleged; they were merchants, who established manufactures at Marseilles. When they were rich enough to buy Mirabeau they received it from the family of Barras, which had for its device: "Li Barras viel coumo li roucas" (The Barras as old as the rocks). The real name of the Riqueti was probably Riquet, but it was the fashion in Provence to give names an Italian termination; it was less *roturier* to be Riqueti than Riquet. I cannot even analyze all that M. de Loménie has to say of the eldest Mirabeau, and come at once to his grandmother, Françoise de Castellane, whom he describes as one of the handsomest persons of her time. She lost her husband early and had the care of three sons—the Marquis (the father of the orator), the Bailiff, and the Count. She had a strong will and she inspired her sons with as much deference as affection. She was austere, pious, and very methodical. The Marquis probably learned from her those theories of parental authority which he vainly tried to enforce upon the great Mirabeau. Poor woman! she was passionately fond of the Marquis, her son; he was also very devoted to her. She was sixty years old when he decided her to leave her château in Provence; he married in Paris while she was still in Provence. This very unfortunate marriage became a source of trouble for the whole family. Françoise de Castellane had not only the sorrow of seeing her son ill-married; she saw him afterwards admit into his house a mistress, Madame de Pailly. She was very devout, but she finally lost her reason and she lived in a state of madness till the age of eighty-six years. (You may find all the details of this painful case in the 'Memoirs' of Baron Gleichen, ambassador of Denmark in Paris.) She lost her mind in 1766 and died in 1769.

The Count, who was the youngest of the three sons of Françoise de Castellane, died at the age of thirty-six, and has left no name. The Chevalier, who was the second son, and who afterwards took the name of Bailiff when he became grand-cross of the Order of Malta, is a very interesting character. The orator, when he wrote his Letters in the prison of Vincennes, said of him: "I love and revere my uncle; my uncle has the soul and the virtues of a hero." Mirabeau wrote these lines when he was at war with all his family—with his father, his sister, and even with his mother. The Bailiff has not the celebrity of his brother, who was called *L'Ami des hommes*; he has not the reputation of his nephew, but he is evidently the favorite of M. de Loménie:

"He is," he says, "the finest moral product of this impetuous and often unbridled race. But as if excess, even in good, was inherent to it, the best of all was excessive in his passion for truth and for justice. The Bailiff de Mirabeau was an Alceste [Alceste is the misanthrope of

Molière], and a feudal Alceste; his physiognomy comes out in strong features amidst the frivolous faces of the eighteenth century; but he had nothing in common with the hero of Molière except this exaggeration of frankness and of rigorism. He was not accessible to the domination of a *Cléopâtre*; he did not content himself with declamations against the vices of humanity; he fulfilled all the duties of a laborious career and was more occupied in doing good than in criticising evil."

He was for many years a sailor, and at one time there was a question of making him Minister of the Navy; but in the eighteenth century, and perhaps at other times, a little more diplomacy than the Bailiff possessed was required for this post. He was for a time Governor of Guadeloupe. He wrote a number of memoirs on technical subjects, which are now quite forgotten. His early education had been somewhat neglected; at nineteen this young man who afterwards became so austere was as wild as only a Mirabeau could be.

"I have seen," writes his brother the Marquis in 1770, "the youth of the Bailiff, who, during three or four years, was not for more than a week at a time out of prison, and as soon as he saw the light of the day lost himself in brandy, and then fell on anybody whom he met, till he was borne to prison. With all that, he was full of honor, and his superiors always promised my mother that he would become an excellent officer. However, nobody could stop him till he suddenly stopped himself."

This period of folly was short. The young Chevalier was then at Malta, and Malta is perhaps not a very intellectual place. It was then full of young men of good family who had not much to do. After his service at Malta he entered the navy, but I will not give an account of his long journeys and of his campaigns. On the high seas or in distant lands he preserved always in his heart two noble sentiments: he was passionately attached to his mother and to his brother the Marquis, whom he considered a great man. He was the cadet, and the Marquis had all the privileges; but the Chevalier had but one thought—the glory of the name of Mirabeau—and he was absolutely disinterested in all money transactions and arrangements. He was very economical, while the Marquis was very disorderly; he always considered his economies as a little family treasure. He leaves them in the hands of his brother, and when he has some need of money he seems almost ashamed to ask him for a small part of what is his own. On the other side, it must be said that the Marquis is ever ready to help his brother in his career, and is incessant in his praise. He consults him in every case; he looks upon him as the best, almost the only real, friend he has in the world. He is very ambitious for his brother, and he forces him to accept the very expensive post of General of the Gallies of Malta. He incurs debts himself in order to procure this post for him; he procures for him afterwards the richest *commanderie*; in short, he finally makes his brother rich, and, by a strange turn of events, we shall see that he subsists in the end, when he is lost in his lawsuits with all his family, only on the little fortune which he has, so to speak, forced upon the Bailiff. The relations of these two brothers form perhaps one of the most curious chapters in the history of the right of primogeniture in France.

But it is time that I should arrive at the principal figure of the work of M. de Loménie, the Marquis, commonly called *L'Ami des hommes*.

Correspondence.

A NEW VOLUME OF THE 'FINAL PHILOSOPHY.'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The critic who noticed my treatise on the 'Final Philosophy' in your last number has expressed a solicitude in regard to the work which the author alone can relieve.

"The first essay," he says, "has been cordially received, if it has not been much read. May we not have some hope for the future? Almost a score of years have been devoted to it by the author, he tells us, and a collegiate chair secured expressly for its support. What a loss it would be if it were to perish unwritten!"

Permit me to reply that the revised sheets of the second edition of the work have this morning been sent to the printer, and that the materials for another volume have long been accumulating, having in fact formed part of the college course to which the critic refers. When his desires for that volume are to be met, I could not now promise; nor would it be easy to afford him even a foretaste so long as he holds his present estimate of "the Princeton curriculum," and, apparently, of "the productions of the American press."

Trusting that this brief note will not take up too much of your space, I am, very truly yours,

CHARLES W. SHIELDS.

PRINCETON, JAN. 2, 1879.

THE ABUSE OF THE PARDONING POWER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The President has recently granted a pardon to one Heywood, who was convicted in Massachusetts for sending obscene matter through the United States mails, thus reducing his sentence from two years to seven months, and making himself morally responsible for all the mischief that this man will do during the interval for which the President has given him the opportunity.

The abuse of the pardoning power is an evil of constantly-increasing magnitude. It would be interesting to make a list of all the counterfeiters, liquor-swindlers, and defaulters who, after careful trials, difficult convictions, and moderate sentences, have been almost immediately let loose by Mr. Hayes, to recommence their preying upon society. There are many who think that in view of these enormous abuses, which extend to State as well as national executives, it would be far better to do away with the pardoning power altogether. At the very least, a pardon without the recommendation of the judge who conducted the trial should be made impossible, even for the President.

M. C. L.

SHELLEY'S RELIGION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your paper for Dec. 26, in an article relative to Percy Bysshe Shelley, after stating that "Shelley rejected all that is properly known as Christianity, and that it is impossible to deny Shelley's atheism, and that he began life with a theory which imposed no restrictions except those of his own honor and self-respect, which acknowledged no command not proceeding from his own reason," you remark that "the most that can be contended for is that in all that constituted a religious mind, in natural piety, in purity of life and motive, Shelley was exceptionally conspicuous."

May I take the liberty of asking, in view of the fact that the *Nation* is probably read by many young men whose practical sentiments it doubtless does much in shaping, that you would explain how a mind in which the essential underlying principle of all religion, the being of God, is entirely disowned, and in which no obligation of obedience to any authority outside of itself was entertained, could yet be exceptionally conspicuous in all that constitutes a *religious* mind? Are we justified in inferring from the article in question that Christianity, and even natural religion, may everywhere be entirely dispensed with, and yet every man's character and conduct be all which they ought to be?

NISUS.

[The article in question attributes Shelley's sense of "freedom from obligation of obedience to any authority outside of himself" only to the earlier part of his short career. It says that he "began life with a theory which left every desire and impulse free course, etc.," but that "by intense thought and bitterest experience he came at last to the laws of life and to obey them," so that he did not end his life as a lawless person. We admit, however, that it is perhaps a straining of the term "religious" to apply it to the mind of a person who does not believe in a personal Deity, but that it is not an unprecedented or wholly unwarranted use of it is shown by the language of Mr. F. W. Robertson about Shelley which we have quoted, and it may be still further justified and explained by the following from Hunt's account of the poet's death:

"His aspect had a certain seraphical character which would have suited a portrait of John the Baptist, or the angel whom Milton describes as holding a reed 'tipped with fire.' Nor would the most religious mind, had it known him, have objected to the comparison, for with all his scepticism Shelley's disposition was truly said to have been anything but irreligious. A person of much eminence for piety in our times has well observed that the greatest want of religious feeling is not to be found among the greatest infidels, but among those who never think of religion except as a matter of course. The leading feature of Shelley's character may be said to have been a natural piety. He was pious towards nature, towards his friends, towards the whole human race, towards the meanest insect of the forest. He did himself injustice with the public in using the popular name of the Supreme Being inconsiderately. He identified it solely with the most vulgar and tyrannical notions of a god made after the worst human fashion, and did not sufficiently reflect that it was often used by a juster devotion to express a sense of the great Mover of the universe. An impatience in contradicting worldly and pernicious notions of a supernatural power led his own aspirations to be mis-

construed; for though in the severity of his dialectics, and particularly in moments of despondency, he sometimes appeared most hopeless of what he most desired, and though he justly thought that a Divine Being would prefer the incense of benevolence and good before any praise or even recognition of himself (a reflection worth thinking of by the intolerant), yet there was in reality no belief to which he clung with more fondness than that of some great pervading 'Spirit of Intellectual Beauty,' as may be seen in his aspirations on the subject. He assented warmly to my opinion which I expressed in the cathedral at Pisa while the organ was playing, that a truly divine religion might yet be established if charity were really made the principle of it instead of faith."—ED. NATION.]

HOW TO CIVILIZE THE INDIANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation*, No. 700, contains a letter from Mr. Lewis H. Morgan on the Indian question. It is very apparent that Mr. Morgan has given this subject a good deal of study. The conclusions which he has arrived at, as regards the present condition of the Indians and the natural stages by which they might be made to ascend in the scale of civilization, are correct. How any careful and candid student of the subject can arrive at any other conclusions is a mystery. The Indian is intelligent, and amenable to reason; but he has not the capacity, in his present barbarous condition, of retaining long a clear remembrance of the difference between right and wrong, nor has he the moral stamina to act, as he has been convinced it is right that he should, in opposition to his passions and the time-honored customs of his ancestors. Hence acting alone, unsupported by the actual presence of physical power, moral suasion utterly fails to effect any permanent elevation of the condition of the Indian. Talk to him like "a man and a brother," and he will readily admit the justness of your strictures upon his conduct: "My friend, you have shown me the straight road. I will henceforth follow it"; and straightway he goes meandering along the crooked paths his ancestors have made memorable.

What can be done? The answer is not difficult. Treat him as you would a child, justly and firmly, placing in the hand which furnishes food and protection actual, living, ever-present power to punish transgression. Take away from him his surplus ponies and firearms, forbid the sale or issue to him of paints and many-colored blankets; these serve only to stir up in his barbarous heart longings to emulate the bloody deeds of his barbarous ancestors. Issue to him domestic cattle and white man's clothing, assist him in caring for and protecting his stock. Invest the branch of the Government called upon to perform this duty with the necessary, tangible, and effective power to enforce obedience to moral suasion.

Under the moral-suasion policy four hundred domestic cows were given to the Indians at this agency, and the Indians ate them up, although every effort was made by the agent to persuade them not to do so. In October, 1877, four hundred and forty-nine cows and four bulls were given to the Indians at this agency by order of General Sheridan. They were purchased by military authorities from the proceeds of the sale of surrendered Indian ponies. By direction of the post-commander at Cheyenne Agency, D. T., these cows were turned over to the heads of families, who signed an agreement to care for and protect the said cows and their increase for the benefit of themselves and their families; further, they agreed that they would not kill, sell, trade, or otherwise dispose of them, and that they would submit to a retention of their rations for such time as the post-commander should deem just in the event of their violating any of the foregoing agreements; and, finally, that they would report to the said authority any violation of this agreement that might come to their knowledge. All this was read over to each Indian before he was required to sign the same. The post-commander then directed the officer in command of Indian scouts to keep a general supervision over the cows. Last July this officer made a careful and thorough inspection of all the cows, bulls, and calves, and found four hundred and forty-four cows, five bulls, and three hundred and fifty calves in the possession of the Indians, showing a loss of five cows and a gain of three hundred and fifty calves.

In September of this year two hundred cows and four bulls were turned over to the Indians at this agency, in the same manner as the previous lot. This stock was also purchased by the military authorities upon the proceeds of the sale of Indian ponies surrendered to said authorities last winter and spring. The Indians are taking excellent care of this stock; each family caring for them and protecting them, and intensely interested in

their cows and calves. They have built warm, substantial stables, put up hay for the winter, and in every way shown an appreciation of the value of their stock. They have been assisted by the advice of the officers in charge, but have been required to do all the work. During the last summer nearly all the Indians at the agency made actual attempts to cultivate the ground and raise crops, and built about one hundred log-houses. Little-No-Heart, chief of the Minneconjou tribe, and "The Charger," chief of the Sans-Arc tribe, put in the hay required for the use of the agency during the present winter, and charged the Government four dollars less a ton than the white man did last year. Since April of the present year, when an army officer took charge of this agency, six full-blooded Indians have been permanently employed about the same as laborers, the Government paying them ten dollars a month for doing the same work it pays a white man forty dollars a month for doing. Two years ago the writer was frequently told by the agency officials then in charge that it would be impossible to get an Indian to work for any price, and that he would consider a proposition to do so as a mortal affront.

Is it difficult to understand why the Indians at this agency have made so much progress in the last two years, while their uncles, cousins, and other relations at Spotted-Tail and Red-Cloud Agency have made very little or none at all? It is due to actual and active support of moral suasion by physical force, combined with just and equitable treatment, and this I believe to be the only policy that will ever satisfactorily solve the Indian question.

I remain, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant.

Geo. L. R. BROWN,

Second Lieutenant, Eleventh Infantry.

CHEYENNE AGENCY, D. T., Dec. 8, 1878.

OUR SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his recent memorandum concerning our South American trade Mr. Evarts says that our manufactured goods are now reaching South America *via* Europe, and he asserts that "no stronger demonstration of the tendency of commerce to follow in the train of postal communication can be conceived." We have no direct postal communication with South American ports, but have to send our letters by way of Europe. Mr. Evarts suggests, therefore, the subsidizing of mail steamers to run between the United States and South America.

Believing that trade is, in reality, but a barrier of merchandise against merchandise, and that our tariff laws practically prohibit the importation of South American products into the United States, I fail to understand how the postal communication between Europe and South America is any explanation of the unimportance of our South American trade, or how a subsidized steamship company is going to help matters. It would not be denied by protectionists (see a letter signed "Merchant" in *Nation* of Sept. 27, 1877) that our tariff laws keep South American produce out of the United States, for this is plainly the purpose of such laws. It is also a fact that the protectionist party in the United States is of great political importance, and I am sure Mr. Hayes's Government would not dare to antagonize that party. Mr. Evarts is careful not to do so, or he would not suggest a subsidized mail service; for Mr. Evarts must see clearly enough that the modification of our tariff laws (and our navigation laws, also, would need revision) is the straight road to an enormous trade with South America, and to direct postal communication, without Government aid. Under these circumstances, Mr. Evarts's suggestion can only mean that our Government should assist our manufacturers to get their goods to South American markets direct. But in what can our manufacturers be paid? Referring again to the *Nation* of Sept. 27, 1877, we find your protectionist correspondent answering this very question thus: In bills of exchange drawn against South American produce shipped to Europe. But could such a trade as this gain any proportions? Could it warrant the subsidizing of a steamship company? Could it, in short, make possible the introduction of any large amount of our manufactured goods into South American markets? Now, every bill of exchange drawn on Europe, given in return for our manufactured goods, must be paid by the importation into this country of European merchandise. Have we any reason to believe that our imports from Europe can be so far increased over our exports to Europe as a large trade with South America implies? Are not the United States rich enough in resources to pay directly for all the European merchandise our people want? South America has products which the people of the United States want and cannot get. Can the wants of our people for European merchandise

be increased to accommodate a South American trade, working after the fashion described? These are questions which I think demand answers before we legislate to establish a steamship company.

But it may be said that we now have a South American trade *via* Europe; that the goods thus sent are paid for with European merchandise; that the subsidizing scheme only contemplates a simple change, in our favor, by which our manufactures will be sent to South American markets direct. But is the trade with South America, *via* Europe, of any great importance? If it appears to be so at present (I have seen no statistics on the subject) this can be accounted for by these two facts: first, that the stimulus of paper money has bequeathed to us an over-production of manufactured goods, which must be sold at ruinously low prices; second, that owing to the withdrawal of foreign capital from the United States, and the accumulation of gold in the United States (though this is of minor importance), our exports have latterly largely exceeded our imports. These facts would make it possible for Europeans greatly to increase their exports of our manufactured goods, but they imply a state of things which is abnormal and transitory.

Mr. David A. Wells, some two years since, in the *North American Review*, and afterwards in the pages of the *Nation*, discussed very thoroughly this question of South American trade. He argued its importance as an outlet for our over-production, as a means of giving employment to thousands of workmen; but he also argued, and, as it seemed to many of us, very conclusively, that no trade with South America was possible which was not based on a direct exchange of merchandise. If Mr. Wells be right, Mr. Evarts's subsidy scheme is an absurdity, and can do no good.

BOSTON, Dec. 20, 1878.

Notes.

APPLETON & CO.'S announcements for the New Year comprise 'Selected Speeches and Reports on Finance and Taxation, from 1859 to 1878,' by Secretary John Sherman; 'Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Reminiscences of the Late War,' by General Dick Taylor; 'Health, and How to Promote It,' by Prof. Richard McSherry, of the University of Maryland; 'Modern Fishers of Men among the Various Sexes, Sects, and Sets of Chartville Church and Community'; 'The Fairyland of Science,' by Arabella B. Buckley; 'Ocean Wonders,' by Wm. E. Damon, and 'Commercial Products of the Seas,' by P. L. Simmons, both illustrated; 'The English Reformation,' by the Rev. Cunningham Geikie; 'Bibelots and Curios: a Manual for Collectors,' by Frédéric Vors; Maudsley's 'Pathology of the Mind'; Élisé Reclus's 'Earth and its Inhabitants' (by subscription); a series of Health Primers, and numerous additions to their International Scientific, Experimental Science, School Science Primer, and Handy-Volume Series.—Charles Scribner's Sons have ready in pamphlet and also in book form Mr. Geo. William Curtis's recent oration at the Academy of Music, before the New York Historical Society, 'On the Life, Character, and Writings of William Cullen Bryant.' They have in press a fifth revised edition of President Woolsey's 'International Law,' printed from wholly new plates; 'Gleanings of Past Years,' being Mr. Gladstone's chief contributions to periodical literature from 1843 to 1878, in five small volumes; Jules Simon's 'Government of M. Thiers'; Max Müller's 'Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India'; 'St. Paul at Athens,' by the Rev. Charles Shakespeare; and Prof. Boyesen's study of Goethe and Schiller.—A fourth revised edition of 'An Essay contributing to a Philosophy of Literature,' by Brother Azarias, Professor of English Literature in Rock Hill College, Md., is soon to be published by Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, Philadelphia.—John Wiley & Sons have issued the third edition of Prof. J. D. Dana's 'Manual of Mineralogy and Lithology,' rewritten and brought up to the mineralogical standard of the present day. The few pages devoted to lithology bear the stamp of the author's somewhat peculiar views upon this subject. He quite ignores the classifications adopted by the German geologists, and omits entirely one of our most wide-spread volcanic rocks, as such, which, in a work of this kind, should at least receive some mention.—A most admirable little work of a somewhat novel kind, viz., 'An Elementary Geology,' which treats only of a limited area, the Mississippi basin, has just been published in Cincinnati by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. Instead of using the stereotyped illustrations found in the majority of geological text-books, the author has drawn upon the ample material furnished by the publications of the various State Surveys, thus impressing more

vividly upon the mind of the learner, by the familiarity of the natural phenomena cited, the general truths he desires to teach, and at the same time affording to the general reader a great deal of otherwise practically inaccessible geological information. The book is written in language which, while clear and concise, is simple without being childish, and the woodcuts with which it is profusely illustrated are not only new but well designed and admirably executed.—B. Westermann & Co. send us the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1879, in which the greatest changes have arisen from the Treaty of Berlin. Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania take their place in it for the first time as independent states and as reigning families. Two of the portraits have exceptional interest—Mercedes and the Pope, the latter showing a face of much shrewdness and an intellectual forehead.—The Roman papers announce the intended publication, in March next, of a newspaper by the Papal authorities in the Vatican. It is to be printed in five different languages, Italian, French, Spanish, English, and German, and possibly (considering the interest in the Eastern question) in Greek. It will publish the Papal briefs, allocutions, and other official documents of the Government. The form will probably be an eight-page folio, and an edition of at least 50,000 copies is expected to be printed. The editor-in-chief is to be Monsignore Pecci, brother of the Pope, whilst the managing editor is the strongly ultramontane Count Conestabile, of Perugia.—An Executive Committee of the Alumni Association of Harvard College is engaged in raising funds for a likeness, in bust or medallion, of the late Gen. W. F. Bartlett, to be placed with a suitable tablet in Memorial Hall. Any surplus will be devoted to the benefit of his children. The Treasurer is Gen. Charles L. Peirson, 44 Kilby Street, Boston.—The Brooklyn Historical Society will listen on the 14th inst. to a lecture by the Rev. Henry G. Spaulding on "Some Recent Advances in Classical Archaeology," with views of excavations and explorations. Mr. Spaulding will deliver in that city and in New York this winter a second course of his excellent illustrated lectures on Roman Life and Antiquities.

—The following sentence in our article last week on page 4, column 2, near the top, "There is more doubt now than there has ever been that such men [*i.e.*, such statesmen as American society needs] exist," should have read, "There is no more doubt," etc. The succeeding sentence, "but there is a great and wide-spread disbelief, etc.," implied the antithesis the types failed to express.

—We have received from the chairman of the special committee of the Chamber of Commerce to which was committed the question of concurrence with the York-Antwerp rules of General Average, a reply to the censure on his course in opposing concurrence which we printed last week in a letter from a correspondent. The reply will appear in our next issue, being unavoidably deferred for want of space.

—The necrology of 1878 embraces many ex-sovereigns, of whom only Pius IX. need be named. Cut off in the midst of their rule were Victor Emanuel, the unfortunate Queen Mercedes, and the Princess Alice. It was a bad year for bosses: Tweed and Morrissey in this country, and J. J. Fazy in Switzerland, going the way of all flesh. Italy lost the patriots Pallavicino and Lamarmora; Greece, her revolutionary statesman, Demetrius Bulgari; Hungary, Michael Horváth, Kossuth's Minister of Education; France, the imperialist Pierre Magne and Montauban, and the Republican Garnier-Pagès; England, the veteran Earl Russell. Our own loss has not been great: both Benjamin F. Wade and Gideon Welles could well be spared. No military or naval name of the first rank has been extinguished. Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers died at eighty-three, fuller of years, perhaps, than of martial honors. The heroic defender of Belfort, Col. Denfert-Rochereau, did more for his country than for his Protestantism by saving that fortress to France. A not low type of the soldier of fortune passed away in the person of Col. F. W. Rüstow. Our civil war has been recalled by the deaths of Gens. August Willich and Geo. F. Shepley and Rear-Admiral Hiram Paulding, on the Union side; of Gideon J. Pillow and Commodore Geo. N. Hollins, on the Confederate.

—The roll of scientists is somewhat more brilliant, mustering a Claude Bernard in physiology; an Antoine-César Becquerel and a Robert von Meyer in physics, the one strong in electricity and magnetism, the other an independent discoverer with Joule of the dynamic theory of heat; a Karl Rokitsansky in pathological anatomy; an Ernst Heinrich Weber in optics and acoustics; and the Nestor of botanists, Elias Magnus Fries, of Upsal. Somewhat below these, but still of high rank, are Victor Regnault, physicist and chemist; Father Angelo Secchi, the Papal astronomer, whose attention to solar physics grew out of the share he took while in this country in Prof. Henry's experiments

in this direction; A. L. Mörch, the Danish conchologist; P. Bleeker, the Dutch ichthyologist; and Thomas Vernon Wollaston, the indefatigable English entomologist. Mention should also be made of A. Lamy, who discovered simultaneously with Crookes the metal thallium; and of Gustav Wallis, whose botanical explorations in South America and elsewhere enlarged the horticulture of Europe by a thousand new varieties. Worthy to rank with the first of the foregoing was our own Joseph Henry, and we have lost also Wm. M. Gabb, geologist and palaeontologist, Charles Fred. Hartt, geologist, and Dr. Charles Pickering, the naturalist of the Wilkes Expedition. Here also may appropriately be remembered Thomas Belt, the delightful "Naturalist in Nicaragua"; Sir Charles Buck, the Arctic explorer; and the travellers J. G. Kohl, Baron Ernst von Bibra, and J. J. Monteiro, together with that ardent promoter of geographical science, August Heinrich Petermann.

—In pure literature we may say that there have been no irreparable losses. England enumerates George Henry Lewes, the historians Sir Edward Creasy and Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell, the novelist Whyte-Melville, Mrs. Fanny Bury Palisser (Marryat's daughter and a friend to chim-maniacs), Mrs. Favel Lee Mortimer, author of 'Reading without Tears' and of other juvenile works which have had an enormous vogue, and Henry S. King, both author and publisher. Another publisher, Basil Montagu Pickering, is familiar to the lovers of good books, and M. A. Poulet-Malassis deserves mention as among the first to revive fine and decorative printing in France. Russia misses her great poet, Nekrasoff, and antiquary, George Tolstoi; Spain, the historian and archaeologist, Don José Amador de los Ríos, and Escosura, the poet-dramatist; Italy, the popular poet, Alcardo Alcardi; Poland, an admirable translator of Homer, Siemieniski; Germany, Karl Gutzkow, the novelist, a relic of the "Young Germany" of fifty years ago. In this country, Bryant and Bayard Taylor and Mrs. Sarah Helen Whitman, among the poets, and Evert A. Duyckinck, the literary cyclopædist, complete the tale.

—Among the men of learning we mention J. J. Hoffmann, of Leyden, the first Japanese scholar of the time; Niels Ludwig Westergaard, the Danish Orientalist; William F. Meyers, the promising Chinese scholar; Joseph Bonomi, the Egyptologist; James Whatman Bosanquet, an authority in Biblical chronology and Assyrian history, and a patron of research in these fields; Theodor Keim, the master of early Christian history; and Dr. Johann Alzog, the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical historian. In the domain of art Cruikshank's leads all other names. C. F. Daubigny and Émile Lambinet, the French landscape-painters; Domenico Induno, an Italian master of the brush; Giuseppe Mengoni, the leading Italian architect; the Austrian sculptor, Fernkorn; and Sir Gilbert Scott, architect, are the only other notable losses of the year. Adolph Braun, of Dornach, has secured a long remembrance and an honorable association by his carbon prints after the old masters. The late Richard Upjohn, architect of Trinity Church, has the distinction of having broken the way for "pure" architecture in the United States. Only two conspicuous inventors—Thomas Whans, of Baltimore, and Sir William Mitchell, to whom we owe the international marine signalling code—are among the dead of last year. Akin to them as pioneers were Edward K. Collins, founder of an ill-fated line of American steamships; Henry Wells, the leading spirit of "Wells-Fargo"; and William Orton, head of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The philanthropists include Mme. Marie Pape-Carpentier, *inspectrice générale des salles d'asile*; George Thompson, who helped powerfully to free the Anglo-Saxon race from the iniquity of slaveholding; his collaborator and countryman, the chartist, Henry Vincent; and among us, Charles C. Burleigh, William Goodell, Miss Catherine Beecher, and (unprofessionally) Theodore Roosevelt. Journalism suffered by the death of Samuel Bowles and John A. MacGahan; and the stage by that of the admirable Charles James Mathews.

—The name of Caleb Cushing, who died on the 2d inst., all but belongs in the foregoing list. Mr. Cushing was born in Salisbury, Mass., and had nearly completed his seventy-ninth year. His career was of almost unexampled variety and activity, and such were his native talents that neither his want of principle and frequent change of party and opinion, nor his advancing age, could keep him permanently "on the shelf." He entered Congress as a Clay-Whig Representative in 1835, worked vigorously to secure the election of Harrison, and before he left the House in 1843 had "Tylerized" and definitively cast in his lot with the Democratic Party. Tyler gave him a commissionership to China in

the last-named year, and he there negotiated an important treaty. When the annexation of Texas had borne its legitimate fruit, and Massachusetts would not raise troops for the slaveholders' war with Mexico, he recruited a regiment at his own expense, became colonel of it, and after joining Taylor was made brigadier-general by President Polk. As a commander he was heartily detested by his own soldiers, and some of the traditions of his discipline in maintaining the hygiene of the camp show that his treatment of men could be brutal in the extreme. While still in the field he made that unsuccessful run for Governor of Massachusetts which Hosea Biglow has immortalized in his "John P. Robinson he." "General C.," however, had the good fortune to be a great man in a little village, and when the State at large would not give him anything to do he was always sure of being made mayor of Newburyport, or its representative in the General Court. His then fellow-Democrat, Governor Boutwell, appointed him to the Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1852, but he shortly resigned this position in order to take the U. S. Attorney-Generalship under President Pierce (1853-57). In 1860 he presided over the divided Charleston Convention, and later over the rump which nominated Breckenridge at Baltimore; but after Sumter he offered his services in any capacity to Governor Andrew, to assist in the maintenance of the Union, and fairly put himself in harmony with the new order of things. In 1866 President Johnson appointed him with two others to revise and codify the U. S. statutes. In 1872 President Grant sent him to Geneva as one of the American counsel in the *Alabama* settlement, in 1874 nominated him Chief-Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, and failing in that, in spite of Mr. Sumner's support, sent him to Spain, where as Minister he brought the *Virginius* affair to a satisfactory conclusion. In the late Massachusetts campaign the Butlerites attempted to put him on their ticket, so that up to the last moment he was kept in mind as a public character of unlimited capacity for service. Administrations of every shade had found him useful, he was considered by his opponents an ornament of the General Court, and he was a hard and faithful worker wherever employed; yet nobody ever trusted him except in a professional capacity, and neither his political nor his forensic addresses have given him a renown like that of Webster or of Choate. One familiar quotation we owe to his temporary despair of the Republic, when he foresaw anarchy and then the "man on horseback." Perhaps no better epitaph could be devised for him than the panegyric written thirty years ago by his successor at Madrid in these words—"a dresse smart man."

—It is difficult to say whether Charles Reade's 'Double Marriage,' now being given at the Lyceum Theatre, is a melodrama or a tragedy; it is certainly what is now called an "emotional" play. The scene is laid at the time of the French Revolution, and the play opens with the sale, under the hammer, of the castle of Beaurepaire, belonging to one of the oldest families of France. The household consists of the Baroness (Mrs. E. L. Davenport) and her two daughters, *Josephine* and *Rose* (Miss Alice Lingard and Miss Kate Claxton). *Raynal*, a French officer, buys the château, and, finding that the sale is the cause of great distress and misery to the family, immediately proposes to settle the difficulty by marrying *Josephine*. *Josephine* is already betrothed to *Émile Dujardin*, another officer, a friend and comrade of *Raynal*, but supposed to be dead. For her mother's sake *Josephine* accepts the offer. *Rose* (who represents comedy and coquetry, as opposed to *Josephine*, who is to be the tragic character of the play) is interested in *Édouard Rivière*, whom she, however, torments most unmercifully. No sooner has the marriage taken place (*Raynal*, having no time to waste, insists on a civil ceremony), and the husband departed for Egypt, than in walks *Émile*, who has been through every sort of danger and privation, and comes home to find *Josephine* married to another man. However, being too ill to be moved, he remains at the castle, and in a long time news comes of the death of *Raynal*. A secret marriage (in accordance with the forms sanctified by the Church) follows, and *Émile* and *Josephine* are happy. The Baroness is not allowed to know the fact, and, so far as she is concerned, the rest of the play is pure mystery until it is rather abruptly cleared up in the fifth act. News now comes that *Raynal* is not dead at all, and this terrible blow is shortly followed by the appearance of the first husband in person, who finds, to his surprise, an unexpected addition to the family in the shape of an infant in arms. *Rose*, to save her sister, declares she is the mother and *Émile* the father of the child. The next scene is in the trenches before Phillipsburg, where, after further complications between *Raynal* and *Émile*, both of whom meet at the seat of war, *Raynal*, determined to sacrifice his life, draws the lot to lead a forlorn hope against an undermined bastion; *Émile*, however, anticipates him, leads it himself, the bastion is taken, the mine sprung, and the attacking party is

blown into the air. *Raynal* now returns home, learns all, explains to the assembled family that under the French law a civil marriage may be annulled by mutual consent, tears up his own marriage contract, thus making *Josephine* the wife, or rather the widow, of *Émile*. No sooner has this been done (it should be said, however, that previous to this, affairs had reached such a tragic pitch that *Josephine* had attempted to poison herself) than *Émile* turns up again, and there is a final reunion, the generous *Raynal*, however, being left completely in the lurch. Of course, *Rose* and *Rivière* make up their little difficulty. A résumé of the plot makes it seem like a tissue of absurdities, but the play, as is sure to be the case with anything in which Charles Reade has had a hand, has many strong points. The dialogue is very good, the action rapid, the alternations of tragedy and comedy well arranged, and the part of *Josephine* is capable of being made very interesting. Miss Claxton, who is herself a better manager than actress, has collected several very fair actors in her little company at the Lyceum, among the rest Messrs. Robinson and Stevenson, and Miss Lingard; the two former taking the parts of the rival officers. Mr. Robinson always succeeds in making a part with anything in it interesting, and Mr. Stevenson, though too quiet an actor for *Émile*, displayed remarkable force in the forlorn-hope scene. Miss Lingard's acting was throughout good, and she showed at times such genuine tragic feeling as to inspire a regret that the play could not have ended at its real climax, where she attempts suicide. Never have we been more sorry to see a life saved.

—We trust that there is no mistake in the rumor that Mr. W. D. Howells's "Counterfeit Presentment" is to be brought out in New York this winter. Its success last year in Boston and other New England cities would certainly seem to warrant its production, though we do not know what manager thinks of putting it on the stage. We hear a great deal nowadays of "American" dramas and the necessity of encouraging toiling American dramatists, who mainly occupy themselves with conveying late French plays by the aid of an indifferent translator and the substitution of American for French names and places. After the process is completed these plays usually present a picture of life about as like that which usually goes on in America as it is like life in Hindustan. An intrigue with a married woman, and a duel, are among the common incidents of these plays, and a foreign count or two usually appears, associating intimately with representatives of "leading New York dry-goods houses" or Boston bankers. Mr. Howells has, on the other hand, written a genuine American play, in which the characters are real American men and women, and the incidents such as might naturally happen to American men and women. It is a genuine comedy of American life and manners, and we hope the public here will be given before long an opportunity of seeing it.

—The tenement-house question in New York has an important bearing on both public security and health. Overcrowding, bad ventilation and drainage sow seeds of disease which are liable to spread throughout the city, and the herding together of families without a proper separation of age and sex has a demoralizing effect which, more than almost any other cause, swells the ranks of crime. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor have taken the matter up in an enterprising spirit, and have already done much toward promoting the execution of existing laws, which are sufficient, if obeyed, to provide for the correction of present evils. Landlords, in the building and management of their houses, are often wholly careless of their tenants' welfare. To them the law should be vigorously applied; but landlords are not always the only delinquents. The prevalence of filth and misery is often due entirely to the habits of the tenants themselves, and good drainage is not promoted by the stealing of lead pipe. The reforms most needed are good drainage, ventilation, and a complete isolation of the separate families living under one roof. These results can only be attained by a severe supervision over the construction of new buildings, for which full power is given the Board of Health by law. Model tenement-houses cannot now be built in New York on account of the excessive supply of tenement accommodation. In London, where the need has been felt to a far greater degree than in this city, many model dwellings have been built, some of which have satisfied the interests of both landlord and tenant. They have also been attended with great success in Brooklyn and in Boston, but New York is not yet ready for them. Rents are now so low, and there is so much unoccupied accommodation, that model tenements would not fulfil the necessary condition of paying a good return on the investment. When such buildings are erected, they will be found most satisfactory and profitable if built and managed by private persons rather

than by a company in connection with a philanthropic society. Any business managed through agents is less profitable than when it has the personal supervision of interested parties. The success of the "White" tenements in Brooklyn may be largely ascribed to the fact that they have been managed in this way. Meanwhile, much good might be accomplished by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor by a publication of the plans which have had success in London and Brooklyn. It is reasonable to suppose that future buildings would be erected with due attention to these improvements if their details were easily attainable. The Association is doing an excellent work in this direction, and deserves the strongest support of all interested in the welfare of the city.

—Prof. Edward S. Morse has written an interesting paper on the "Traces of an Early Race in Japan," which throws light on a subject hitherto wholly obscure. A race of men called Ainos are believed to have come down from Kamtchatka and to have taken possession of Japan, which they held until displaced in their turn by the Japanese from the south. Of the two races, the Ainos and the Japanese, authentic records exist, but nothing has been known concerning the ancient people whose territory was appropriated by the Ainos. The only knowledge obtained of them has been ingeniously acquired by Mr. Morse by a careful study of "shell-heaps" in all respects similar to those found along the shores of Denmark, New England, and Florida. The deposit discovered by Mr. Morse near Tokio contained pottery and broken bones, many of which were human. It is generally admitted by ethnologists that a people that has once acquired the art of pottery will always retain it; but as neither the Esquimaux, the Kamtchadales, nor the Ainos are essentially earthen-pot-makers, these remains naturally point to the former existence of a race in Japan who preceded the Ainos. Again, both the human and the deer bones found in this shell-heap were broken in a manner to facilitate the extraction of the marrow or to enable them to be placed in a cooking-pot, a circumstance which points to the existence of cannibalism among the people by whom the shell-heaps were made. On consulting Japanese scholars and archaeologists Mr. Morse learned that the Ainos were not only not cannibals but were of an especially gentle disposition. The existence of an ancient race of cannibals in Japan, before the occupation of that country by the Ainos, is therefore made very probable. We hope to see another paper before long containing an account of Prof. Morse's later researches.

OUR BEST SOCIETY.*

IN response to numerous and constant applications from all parts of the country for information regarding social forms and usages in New York an anonymous writer has prepared and published a series of essays, under the title of "Social Etiquette of New York." "Special pains have been taken to make them represent faithfully and accurately existing customs in New York society, in distinction from the many manuals on the subject that have simply reproduced the codes of Paris and London." The manual is designed to furnish "a report or a description of our customs as taught and practised by the superior families of New York." We have examined this new code with care, and can cordially recommend it for study and adoption among superior families the world over. Etiquette, as those who have studied it most carefully well know, is an absorbing and inexhaustible subject of enquiry and analysis; and perhaps no better time for the publication of a work on American etiquette could have been selected than the present, when an attempt is being made to introduce into Canada a distinctly foreign code. For the benefit of families which are trying to become superior we shall give a few extracts from the manual.

The first chapter, on "The Value of Etiquette," is, perhaps, hardly critical enough to suit a severe taste. The codes, the author observes, which different civilized nations "have provided for themselves," to suit "their peculiar sentiments and requirements," "serve as a music that is felt when not heard, and communities walk by it in beautiful harmony and ease"; and, carrying out this musical similitude, she adds that "the slight and agreeable variations which are often made in the forms and usages of well-bred people in their intercourse with the world may be compared to the different parts of that same melody" (i.e., one "that sings itself in one's thoughts without a sound being heard"). For those who do not believe in the value of etiquette, the author throws out the suggestion that "possibly those vagrants who scorn etiquette, and refuse to take the white high-road of a refined civilization, do not possess those

* "Social Etiquette of New York." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

necessary aptitudes for imitation which are requisite for the easy acquirement of customs and formalities which are by birth alien to them"; but adds, guardedly, that "if such undisciplined persons would only submit to custom, and use their best powers of adaptation, they would soon discover that formality is as easy as a tune," etc., etc., etc. This, however, is merely prefatory.

It is in chapter ii., on "Introductions," that we feel that we have really reached the serious part of the work, and the only fault that can be found with it is perhaps a tendency to a slight obscurity here and there. The statement that "ladies of social equality are introduced to each other," qualified or fortified by what follows, "so also are gentlemen," unquestionably correctly describes the better practice as prevailing in New York. But when the author says "it is probable that from the foreign custom of announcing guests from the thresholds of *salons* by a loud-voiced servant is acquired our habit of mentioning the name of the less important or the younger person first," we confess that we do not quite follow her. Is it the loud-voiced servant who on the threshold of these foreign *salons* announces the names of persons younger or less important than himself? It has often struck us that the visitor was at a great disadvantage when compared with the loud-voiced servant, and must feel himself very much less important after the ceremony than before it. But what is the connection between this foreign fashion and our New York custom? Again, the author tells us that "the forms of introductions and presentations must necessarily differ in a country where an equality of citizenship is established by constitutional law," and we feel that she is right, but should be glad of a little more explicit information as to how they differ, and what they differ from.

Chapter iii., on "Salutations," shows that the superior people of New York have carried the practice of etiquette to a high level. The author starts with the assumption that "if bowing to a lady expressed deference, then might any gentleman incline his head to every woman he met." This seems based on the belief that every woman you meet on the street is a lady, a fact which police statistics show to be untrue. But this is of comparatively little importance, because it is well settled that bowing to a lady does not express deference, but recognition. The first point to be determined is who ought to bow first; and it seems that in New York it is the lady's right to recognize an acquaintance first. The only exception to this rule is the case of a young man who has been invited to a house by a "matron with many social cares," who "cannot charge her memory with the features of her multitude of young acquaintances." If a young man who has been invited to such a matron's house meets her in the street he may bow first. We should be inclined to admit another exception—when a gentleman meets a lady whom he knows to be near-sighted without her glasses. In the case of meeting a totally blind lady it is difficult to know how to act. "A faint smile and a formal bow" is all that any gentleman must expect from a lady—that is, in public places. "Under all circumstances, upon the promenade, the street, or in other public places, her smiles are faint and her bows are reserved, but they are not discourteous," and it is pointedly and most properly added that "no gentleman possesses the right to criticise this dignified demeanor, no matter how cordially she may have received him at a recent ball, or when he last paid his respects to her at her home." In a private house we suppose she may smile less faintly, or even laugh outright.

On entering a parlor to pay a visit "a gentleman," the author informs us, "should always carry his hat, leaving his overshoes, overcoat, and umbrella in the hall, if it be winter time." But it must not be inferred from this that in summer it is necessary for him to wear his overshoes, overcoat, and umbrella in making a visit. To return to the street again, an awkward question which must have often suggested itself to students of etiquette is here neatly disposed of—What should be done by a gentleman who meets a lady in the street who is offended with him, but whom "he may respect and feel kindly toward"? Under these circumstances, "It is permitted to him to express his continued reverence by uncovering his head in her presence; but he has no right to look at her as she passes him. He must drop his eyes."

The chapter on "Parties, Balls, and Germans" raises some hard questions, among others one which, as the author says, "has long been in dispute," viz., "Which side of the stairway, the rail or the wall, should be accorded to a lady?" This question has, it seems, been discussed by gentlemen "as if it were for them to decide, which it is not by any means." Such ladies, she pointedly adds, "as have been given their choice" have invariably said: "Permit me to take your left arm with my right hand, and it does not matter whether it is wall or rail that I am nearest in going up or down stairs."

In chapter x. there are some directions with regard to "Dinner-giving and Dining-out" which will prove of value to the young and inexperienced. "If wine be provided and the guest does not approve of it, a private table is not a suitable place for expressing individual convictions." He is further directed to "receive or turn the wine in the different glasses sparingly, and make no comment." At a public dinner "the freedom of the occasion permits a noticeable rejection of wines," though according to our experience this is a freedom not much taken advantage of. We miss one direction in this chapter which we remember to have seen in an old English book of etiquette, a maxim observed by the superior families of New York, though of English origin—"Do not throw your bones under the table or put them upon your neighbor's plate."

It will be seen from the above extracts that there has been evolved in New York a delicate and refined social code which ought to answer all the purposes of the city, considering its present rate of growth, for some years to come. It would be interesting, did our space allow, to speculate upon the effect which the regular practice among the superior families of a city like New York of a code like this might have upon its political institutions. Tocqueville has an instructive chapter on the Influence of Democracy on Manners, and our author appears to think that an "influencing sentiment of common sympathy was born and nourished by republicanism." The influence of Manners on Democracy would be an interesting subject of investigation, and might lead to useful practical results. Are good manners truly democratic, or are they vestiges of an extinct state of society, which have come down to us by a process of "survival," and which are destined finally to disappear for ever, or are they really based on a vital principle and destined in their development to sap the foundations of our liberties? Those whose tendency it is to despair of the Republic might bring forward some strong arguments in favor of an inherent antagonism between good manners and Republicanism. The machinery of society, they would say, is founded on the idea of an acknowledged inequality, which it is our mission as a people to abolish and extinguish throughout the world. For it is to be observed that, though *after* admission to that part of the public which occupies itself with carrying on "society," strict equality is presumed and even insisted on where it does not in reality exist, the principle of *exclusion* is one of inequality and to a certain extent aristocratic, as those know very well who have tried to secure admission, and found that the absence of a certain inherited aptitude, the lack of a bent in the direction of correct grammar, or spelling, or dressing, was a serious stumbling-block. With many of our leading statesmen a habit of saying "them" for "those," and using "be" where grammarians insist on "am" or "are," or appearing in a dress-coat in the early morning, or a frock-coat at a ball, has been found in politics not only not to retard but even perhaps to accelerate their advancement; but socially such solecisms form, even in a republic, a serious obstacle, which it requires a great amount of reserve force in the shape of money to overcome. But then, money does not, as is sometimes said, make society democratic. A society founded simply on distinctions of wealth would probably be the most undemocratic in the world, because money is the most coarse and vulgar test which can be applied. The fact is that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn which will indicate the limits of "society." Money, success, and distinction in any of the callings or professions (including, in the United States, dry goods), birth and beauty, will all at different times and places be regarded as qualifications; but this is not democracy. If society were truly democratic, all would be admitted without regard to anything, as they say in Washington, but the simple fact of American citizenship. Again, society could not be kept going for a day without the institution of domestic service—or, in other words, without a large number of our fellow-citizens being trained to devote their time and attention to ministering to the pleasures of their employers. There can be nothing abstractly more undemocratic than the spectacle of a citizen, clothed with full civil and political rights, enjoying the privilege of *habeas corpus*, and the right of petition and of carrying arms, blacking the boots of another citizen, without any reciprocal right of having his boots blacked in turn by the latter. All these things show that the laws which govern us in the world known as "society," and those which operate upon us under the Constitution and laws of the United States, are not only different but opposed, and it is from a half-conscious perception of this fact that some of our greatest political leaders have shown at times a dislike and suspicion of the established social laws and observances. Thus, it is related in Randolph's "Life of Jefferson" that one of his first acts on becoming President was to abolish the formal "levees" established by Washington, and introduce

the modern White-House reception, an institution which may be regarded as a standing National protest in the interest of Democracy against the evil tendencies of society, and so too he did away with all the ceremony with which Washington had surrounded the opening of Congress, the procession to the Capitol, and the reading of the message in person. Another protest was made when American diplomats were forbidden to wear uniform.

So, during the recent Butler campaign in Massachusetts—in which, as is well known, the hostility that raged between the people at large and the exclusive and disdainful "society" which governs and directs the venal press of the large cities was most furious—no more marked proof of the depth of feeling was given than in a widely-read speech of the General's, in which he announced his determination to break up the practice of amateur coach-driving in New York, in itself a harmless if unprofitable occupation affected by a class of young men who, as a rule, it must be confessed, neglect their full duties as American citizens, and who at the same time are, to a certain extent, representatives of "society." Indeed, it might be said in a negative way that our best society is, to a large extent, made up of citizens who do not perform their political duties, and deride those who do—a fact strongly tending to corroborate the pessimistic view of the relation between Manners and Democracy. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and if it is the spread of Good Manners which is sapping the foundation on which the primary and the convention and other safeguards of our rights rest—if it is impossible, as some persons maintain, to be at once a good citizen and a well-bred man, the fact ought to be made plain, so that the public may understand what the superior families of New York are about.

RECENT POETRY.*

THE Masque of the Poets' represents fairly the strength and variety of contemporary verse, especially of that chorus of singers who sing because the sun rises and it is May. The friends of these lesser poets will see it well illustrated in this volume that the activity of their favorites is determined by common intellectual and moral influences of the time upon more than ordinarily sensitive organizations, and that there is but little original and distinctive character in their works; indeed, beside the entertainment of these verses, they have considerable value as an index to the common qualities of American poetry and a reflection of American life in what is presumably its most sensitively organized and cultivated phase. There is nothing positively dull here except the "Ballad of the Wicked Nephew," and there is nothing really of the first order. The narrative poems seem to us the best. "From Herzegovina," despite some uncouth phrases of rough realism, "The Rebel Flower," "Jasper Oakes," and others, are stories told with clearness, directness, and simplicity; "Red Tape" and "Question and No Answer" are very excellently done; "Amy Margaret," "Provençal Lovers," and "Theocritus" are graceful; "The Medallion Heads" are creditable, and the limited charity and italicized words in "La Fornarina," the second of them, point to a woman's hand. Others are worth mention for excellent work in parts, but Guy Vernon's story, as has been remarked elsewhere, is hardly so light that it needed to be told in such a tripping metre—in a less degree as if Browning had written "Pippa Passes" in the measure of "Beppo." The book has won a deserved success, and already reached a third edition.

'Drift-Weed' is a fitting title for the volume in which Celia Thaxter has collected her late verses; as is her custom, the sea, which, through her early years by the shore and her home at Appledore, has most deeply affected her imagination and guides the suggestions of her thought, is the subject of her best poems, and her work is much inferior when she writes of other things. Yet it seems to us that even here she deals with the cruder colors in sea-scenery and the violent contrasts of the thought and sentiment it suggests; we should prefer more of the imaginative work shown in the description of the leviathan in the storm, and less of the merely red sunset. Perhaps it is through his cousinship to Mrs. Thaxter that Mr. Loughton has come with cousinly admiration to be her disciple. His little volume is less vivid and less expert in structure than hers, but is of the same aim and character; it has more of womanly than manly feeling. Mr. Gilder also is a writer of imitative verse; his previous volume, 'The New Life,' bore in its title the confession of this, and his new work is as distinctively the product of the pagan school, as it is called, but under the influence of Rossetti rather than Swinburne,

who contributes only mannerisms of style and versification. It is refined and exquisite in many respects, but both its refinement and finish are echoes, which is only another way of saying that it says what has been already said, and says it more weakly. One little poem illustrates the single tenet of this school, and suggests its fatal defects in attempting to ground conduct on one principle:

"On the wild rosetree
Many buds there be,
Yet each sunny hour
Hath but one perfect flower.

"Thou who wouldst be wise
Open wide thine eyes,—
In each sunny hour
Pluck the one perfect flower."

Even from this stand-point how much better co-ordinated with the facts of life is Blake's single stanza of like import:

"He who bends to himself a joy
Does the winged life destroy;
But he who kisses the joy as it flies
Lives in eternity's sunrise."

Mr. Gilder, too, shows defective taste occasionally; not to multiply instances, to speak of Christ as "enticed, by those he came to save, to the damned tree," is wholly incongruous with the dignity and value of the Saviour's sacrifice, nor should Mr. Gilder plead the necessity of rhyme, familiar as he must be with Dante's great words in regard to that. The poet, it is only just to say, seems to us to possess a finer native gift than he has yet revealed, and it is a pity that he should allow himself to do such imitative and ineffective work. It was with regret, too, that we read Mr. Leighton's "Change"; he had shown considerable promise in his two previous dramas, but this is a didactic scientific poem of one hundred and forty-three pages, and is a burden to the reader.

In 'Echoes of Song' we have a transcript of one aspect of Western social life. There are hymns, Sunday-school songs, poems for children, for patriotism, for temperance, and for kindred, "The Court of the Muses" for a school-girls' entertainment, and miscellaneous poems. All phases of common domestic life are represented, and the national or local enthusiasms have been duly chronicled. We were interested in a lawyers' dinner where, among other things,

"There were salads, and jellies, and russes,
And often on toast there occurred
A savory, mute protestation
Against the hushed song of a bird."

There were two tables, a "Wine" and a "Red Ribbon"; we are not told which was most favored, but we are instructed at the conclusion of the poem in the plain prose opinion of Judges Garvey, Alderson, and Coleridge on the liquor-traffic. Perhaps the children's poems are, on the whole, most entertaining; from these, however, we have room to extract only one bright saying of a child who was framing hypotheses to explain the thunder by referring it to God:

"She said, 'I suppose, then, dear Ma-ma,
He's striking the Moon with his hand.'"

We have heard of a "spanking breeze," but we did not know that the simile had made any further invasion of natural phenomena.

The story of Francesca of Rimini had better have been left, where Dante left it, to the imagination, sympathy, and forgiveness of the unassisted heart; but it has been told in the small volume to which it furnishes the title with sensitive feeling, and the poem is executed carefully and with creditable success. There is much mannerism in it, and the suffix "-wise" appears in the most wonderful profusion, while the influence of Swinburne on the author is overpowering, of which the following may stand as a sufficient witness:

"O Love! the sea is deep whence thou wast born,
And in thine eyes befinest such sweet light hides
As of dim depths where night and noon are morn;
Beneath the bosom of its fitful tides
Men say indissoluble peace abides,—
And yet so swift thy shifting lights, ah me!
Who knows, who knows, if so or no it be?"

A similar story is 'Genevieve of Brabant,' but less known, and here one of the most delightful versions of it is told with taste and feeling. It is an excellent story for children, although possibly the author did not in-

* Poems, By Albert Leighton. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1878.

The Poet and His Master, and Other Poems. By Richard Watson Gilder. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

Change. The Whisper of the Sphinx. By Wm. Leighton. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

Genevieve of Brabant: A Legend in Verse. By Mrs. Charles Willing. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

Iris: The Romance of an Opal Ring. By M. B. M. Toland. Illustrated. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

Echoes of Song. By Mrs. Lucy H. Washington. Springfield, Ill.: Edwin S. Walker. 1878.

Francesca of Rimini: A Poem. By A. S. H. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

* A Masque of Poets. Including Guy Vernon: A Novelette in Verse. No-Name Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1878.

Drift-Weed. By Celia Thaxter. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

tend it for them, both from its subject and simple treatment. Similar in its appearance, as a holiday work, is 'Iris: The Romance of an Opal Ring,' a novelette in verse, which describes how a poor boy fell in love with a wealthy Southern girl, went to the city, put his love into a book, won money and fame, and happily married her in consequence. Told in prose it would not have been a strong or touching story, and it loses in verse and by the accompanying illustrations.

TWO SHORT HISTORIES OF MUSIC.*

MR. HUNT'S 'History of Music' is constructed on a somewhat novel plan. The first sixty pages are devoted to a description of leading musical events and epochs, with biographical sketches of important—and not a few unimportant—musicians. Then comes a series of chronometrical tables of rather doubtful value, covering about twenty pages; while in the remaining eighty pages an attempt is made to trace the development of the modern scales, counterpoint and harmony, of vocal and instrumental music, the opera, oratorio, symphony, etc., and to describe in succession the various musical instruments, both orchestral and otherwise. Such an arrangement of topics, it is evident, is better suited to a work of reference than a history, and if, nevertheless, we are willing to recommend the work to those who wish to get a vague bird's-eye view of the subject, it is only because no work exists in our language that could even remotely be compared with the manuals of Dommer and Brendel, which, although by no means free from faults and imperfections, both deserve to appear in an English version.

When an attempt is made to compress into 150 pages such a very complex and comprehensive subject as the history of music, the first aim of the writer should be to avoid all waste of space. This Mr. Hunt has by no means done. The twelve pages devoted to examination questions could have been saved for some of the very important facts and criticisms which Mr. Hunt has left unnoticed. The same is true of the space occupied by the chronometrical tables, which few will take the trouble to understand. Moreover, the whole of page nineteen and portions of other pages have no business whatever in a book which endeavors to give the whole personal history of music in sixty pages. It is simply absurd in such a work to give biographical data relating to every insignificant doctor of music who has composed an anthem or two for the Church of England. The natural result of such a method is that no space is left for composers of ten times greater importance. A young student must surely get very erroneous ideas of the relative importance of composers when he finds almost a page given to Rossini, while Bellini, a man of more genius, is disposed of in two lines, and Donizetti in three. As "one of the more prominent among the composers of our own day" Sir John Goss, "without whose name no history of modern music can be complete," also gets half a page, while Rubinstein, Gounod, Brahms, and Raff together get no more space! Of Rubinstein we are simply told that he is a pianist of the first rank, and has composed concertos and other orchestral pieces. We had an idea that Rubinstein's operas, his beautiful songs, and his chamber music also deserved mention. Perhaps, on second thought, Mr. Hunt would also be willing to admit that Rubinstein, Liszt, and Saint-Saëns deserve to be enumerated among recent oratorio-

* 'A Concise History of Music. By H. G. Bonavia Hunt.' New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

'Musikgeschichte in zwölf Vorlesungen. Von W. Langhaus.' Leipzig: F. Leuckart; New York: L. W. Schmidt. 1878.

Roscher's Political Economy.

By WILHELM ROSCHER. 2 vols. 8vo, 87.

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composers just as much as Sullivan, Ouseley, Benedict, and Costa. It is only fair to add that the third part of the book is much more satisfactory than the first.

Dr. W. Langhaus, of Berlin, has published a series of twelve lectures on musical history which would make an admirable little text-book for those conservatories where it is not found practicable to give much time to historical studies. Dr. Langhaus merely excludes all names which did not have an appreciable influence on the development of the art, and he thus saves space for criticism and for instructive comparisons of music at different epochs with the other arts, and with contemporaneous thought and manners. The lectures treat in succession of (1) the music of ancient peoples; (2) the music of early Christian times; (3) the beginnings of polyphonic music; (4) the musical supremacy of the Netherlands; (5) Luther's Reformation and the Renaissance; (6-8) Italian, French, and German opera; (9) the oratorio; (10) instrumental work; (11) the romanticists of the nineteenth century; and (12) Richard Wagner. This is a reasonable division of subjects, and enables students to remember facts in their proper connection. We could have wished, however, that the author had given a little more prominence to the three leading divisions of musical development, so admirably formulated by Helmholtz—the first period being that in which melody alone prevails; the second, the polyphonic or contrapuntal period, that in which several distinct melodies are united, the object, however, being here the avoidance of discords rather than the attainment of stirring harmonies; and the third period, that of modern music, in which harmony is the characteristic and predominant element, being here aimed at for its own sake, in order to arouse the deeper emotions.

The second of these periods is the one with which in our days we find it most difficult to sympathize. The crude endeavors formerly made to dove-tail together two or more distinct melodies are, however, very instructive, for they show us to how great an extent music is an experimental art, and how by slow degrees the complicated harmonies and rhythms of a modern symphony or music-drama were developed from the simple melodies and dance-rhythms of primitive music. But it is a very curious psychological fact that this progress from the simple to the complex should have been so energetically resisted at all times by people whose descendants derived so much pleasure from it. Our Thirty Years' War on musical territory, which may now be regarded as practically at an end, has frequently been repeated in the history of music, not only in Europe, but also in other quarters of the globe. Thus, in China, where a scale is used consisting only of five notes, an attempt was at one time made by Prince Tsay-Yu to introduce the two missing semi-tones; but he met with such angry opposition that the attempt had to be given up. His enemies asserted that to add these notes to the scale would be as absurd as adding two new fingers to the hand. Another curious fact, which may not be generally known, is that up to Luther's time it took two persons to produce a musical composition; one, the *phonaseus*, who originated the melody, and a second, the *symphonetes*, who worked it up contrapuntally. Glareanus, writing in 1547, asserts that it might be possible to find a person uniting in himself these two gifts, but only very rarely. In view of this fact Dr. Langhaus thinks it probable that future generations may be as much astonished that we in the nineteenth century require two persons, one to write the libretto, and another to compose the music of an opera, as we are at this mediæval practice.

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Cash on hand and in bank.....	127,604 69
Loans on bond and mortgage on real estate.....	2,285,153 11
Interest on loans, accrued but not due.....	51,173 05
Loans on collateral security.....	22,100 00
Deferred Life premiums.....	51,272 52
Premiums due and unreported on Life Policies.....	40,750 12
United States Government bonds.....	433,420 00
State and Municipal bonds.....	250,075 50
Railroad stocks and bonds.....	602,328 00
Bank and Insurance stocks.....	2 00
Total Assets.....	5,311,107 38
LIABILITIES.	
Reserve, four per cent., Life Department.....	111 59
Reserve for reinsurance, Accident Department.....	325 34
Claims unadjusted and not due, and all other liabilities.....	5,000 00
Total Liabilities.....	5,337 93
Surplus as regards Policy-holders.....	57,107 38
STATISTICS FOR THE YEAR.	
LIFE DEPARTMENT.	
Number of Life Policies written in 1878.....	1,650
Whole number Life Policies written to date.....	36,297
Whole number of Life Policies in force.....	11,297
Amount Life Insurance in force.....	\$15,307,556 00
Total Claims paid in Life Department.....	\$1,271,137 16
ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.	
Number of Accident Policies written in 1878.....	43,110
Cash Premiums received for same.....	\$775,582 41
Gain in Premiums over 1877.....	\$56,507 69
Whole number Accident Policies written.....	517,055
Number Accident Claims paid in 1878.....	4,760
Amount Accident Claims paid in 1878.....	\$284,243 23
Whole number Accident Claims paid.....	33,049
Whole amount Accident Claims paid.....	\$3,041,951 94
Total Losses paid, both Departments.....	\$4,313,089 80

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